Volume Forty-Seven, Number One, January 1969

Commentary

Conflict in the Cities

The Black Revolution & the Jewish Question
by Earl Raab

The New York School Crisis
by Maurice J. Goldbloom

Is White Racism the Problem?
by Murray Friedman

The Democrats After 1968 *Penn Kemble*
Witchcraft and the Movies *Edward Gross*
On Pro Football *Richard Schickel*

Controversy
The New York Intellectuals *Irving Kristol / Irving Howe*
Music Criticism *Eric Salzman / B. H. Haggin*

Books in Review
George Woodcock *Marvin Fox* *Herbert J. Gans*
William S. Pechter *Robert Lekachman*

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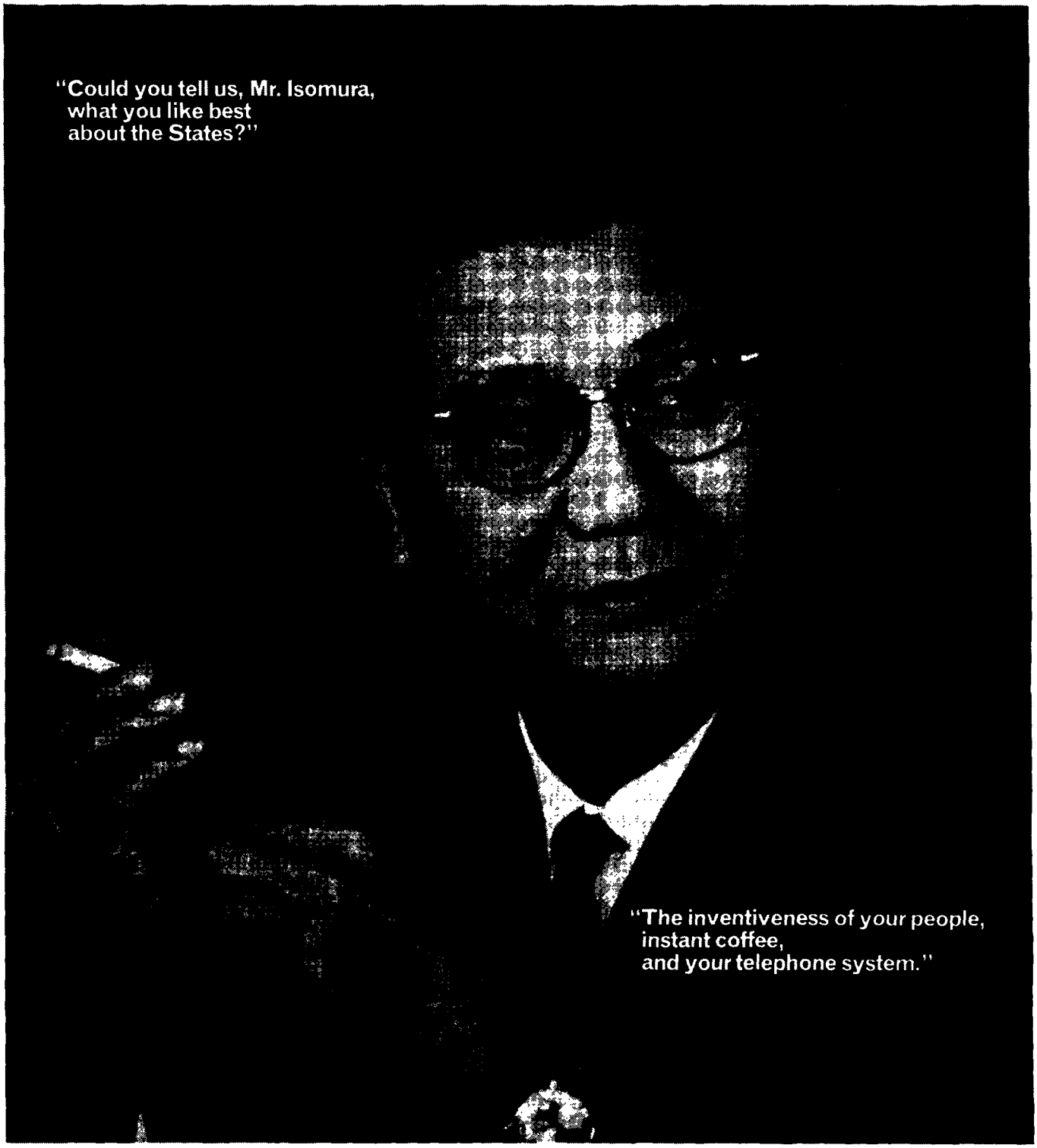
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VOLUME 47 NUMBER 1 *JANUARY 1969*

23 The Black Revolution & the Jewish Question *Earl Raab*

35 The Democrats After 1968 *Penn Kemble*

43 The New York School Crisis *Maurice J. Goldbloom*

61 Is White Racism the Problem? *Murray Friedman*

Observations

66 On Pro Football *Richard Schickel*

68 Witchcraft and the Movies *Edward Gross*

Controversy

12 I. The New York Intellectuals *Irving Kristol/Irving Howe*
II. On Music Criticism *Eric Salzman/B. H. Haggin*

6 Letters from Readers

Books in Review

73 The Collected Essays, Journalism, and Letters of George Orwell, edited by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus *George Woodcock*

75 The Urban Prospect, by Lewis Mumford *Herbert J. Gans*

78 Humanistic Values in the Bible, by Zvi Adar *Marvin Fox*

80 Film 67/68, edited by Richard Schickel and John Simon; Kiss Kiss Bang Bang, by Pauline Kael *William S. Pechter*

86 Children, Poverty, and Family Allowances, by James C. Vadakin *Robert Lekachman*

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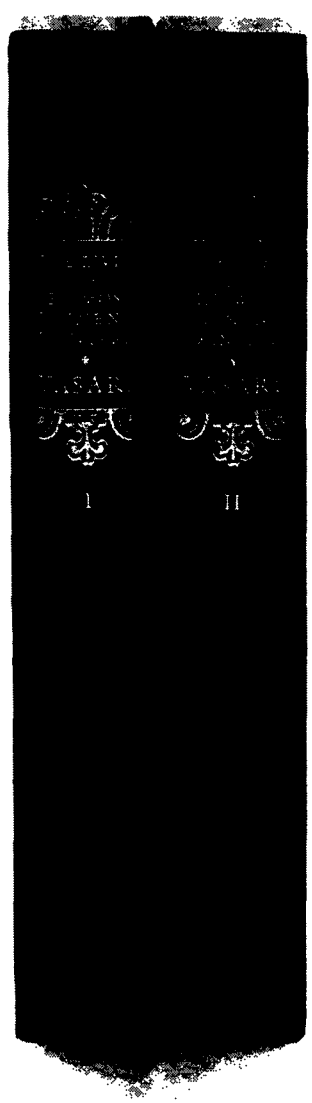

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Letters from Readers

Masaryk's Birthplace

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

George Lichtheim's statement, in his article "Czechoslovakia 1968" [November 1968], that Thomas Masaryk was a Slovak, is incorrect.

Masaryk's birthplace, Hodonín, happens to be located in the Southernmost part of Moravia bordering on Slovakia. The inhabitants of this border region are neither Czechs nor Slovaks but Moravians.

EDWARD D. ADLER
New York City

MR. LICHTHEIM writes:

Thomas Masaryk is usually described as a Slovak, but I agree that so far as his birthplace is concerned he is perhaps more correctly described as a Moravian. There is a subsidiary problem—not mentioned by Mr. Adler and seldom referred to in print—concerning his paternity. For the past half century historians in Vienna and Prague have occasionally hinted at something in the nature of a family secret; but the matter did not seem relevant, and I therefore did not bring it up.

The Social Sciences

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

In his review of the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* [October 1968], Professor Ben B. Seligman devotes four sentences to a comment on my article in the encyclopedia. Since there is something incorrect in each of the four sentences, perhaps the record ought to be set straight.

Professor Seligman first refers to the term behavioral science "as a substitute for 'social science.'" Leaving aside his use of the singular (and my article notes this as an important difference), Professor Seligman could have learned from the very first sentences of the article that the terms are by no means synonymous. In his second sentence he calls me "a leading 'behaviorist,'" without seeming to appreciate the great difference between Watsonian behaviorism and the current meaning of the term, the behavioral sciences (also mentioned in my article). In the third sentence he again misuses the term and suggests that the Ford Foundation made "huge grants" conditional on its use, whereas the Foundation (for which I administered the Behavioral Sciences Program) made many non-huge grants and never conditioned any grant in this way. Finally, in his fourth sentence, Professor Seligman again makes the Watsonian error, and apparently not having read page 42 of the article, states that the Foundation's "approach" was "applied to the whole range of the social sciences."

I don't want to suggest that these are terribly momentous matters, but one would hope that a reviewer would give better evidence of having read if not pondered the article reviewed, rather than ride his own prejudices. More importantly, if Professor Seligman's ratio of inaccurate statements to sentences is as high in the rest of his review, he has done both the encyclopedia and your readers a disservice.

BERNARD BERELSON
President, The Population Council
New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Mr. Seligman is entitled to his view that he prefers a more "humanistic" to a more "scientific" approach to the social sciences . . . although I do not find his discussion of this important problem over-subtle. But he is not entitled to carelessness to the point of incompetence. Mr. Seligman says the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* "has no counterpart to the two massive introductions" of the older *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. That may be true, but if he had read the introduction in the new encyclopedia, he would not have questioned the selection of which living writers are included and which excluded from the biographies. On p. xxv of this introduction, the editor describes the difficulties of including still-living "greats" and sets forth the "1890 rule." Mr. Seligman might have quarreled with that rule, but certainly a careful reviewer would at least have noticed it. Another item: Mr. Seligman writes that "The entry on Malthus says nothing of Malthus's theory of gluts. . . ." Yet the biography of Malthus (Volume 9, page

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549) states: "Although Malthus's fame in the nineteenth century was based squarely on his theory of population, his modern reputation with economists rests rather on his prescient opposition to the Ricardian doctrine of the impossibility of 'general gluts.'" The rest of the paragraph following this sentence (some fourteen lines), continues on Malthus, Keynes, and "gluts."

There was a time when academic social scientists read COMMENTARY's critiques of their work with respect. But who would care to waste his time nowadays, when Mr. Seligman asks for attention?

BERNARD BARBER
Department of Sociology
Barnard College
New York City

MR. SELIGMAN writes:

One of the more observable attributes of behavioralists is their pedanticism. The distinction Mr. Berelson makes between social science and behavioralism is a case in point. In his encyclopedia article he includes among the former anthropology, economics, political science, sociology, and psychology. For the behavioral rubric he adds *aspects* of biology, geography, psychiatry, and the law. Well, to a social scientist who examines human affairs in the round, who refuses to let his perspective be circumscribed by predetermined boundaries, the latter are quite important and need to command his attention, just as history should command his attention (my historian friends tell me, and perhaps with good reason, that they prefer to be classified with the humanities). Mr. Berelson's distinction is useless; worse yet, it is downright harmful. If one is to study man in his situation, not as a subject for somebody's microscope, the terms social science and behavioral science are, to all intents and purposes, synonymous.

The origin of "behavioral" is described by Professor J. G. Miller in an article he contributed to *The State of the Social Sciences* (edited by L. D. White): "About 1949 a group of scientists at the University of Chicago, some of whom have now moved to the University of Michigan, began to consider whether a sufficient body of facts exists to justify developing an empirically testable general theory of behavior. To refer to the biological and social fields involved, we coined the term 'behavioral sciences.' We adopted this phrase, first, because its *neutral* character made it acceptable to both social and biological scientists, and second, *because we foresaw a possibility of someday seeking to obtain financial support from persons who might confound social science with socialism*" (emphasis added). This paragraph was followed by a citation of Senator Fulbright's assurance to the Congress in 1946 that the National Science Foundation would not identify social science with "politics, socialism, or some form of social philosophy." What price scientific neutrality!

Of course, Berelson is a leading behavioralist. If the label came out as behaviorist, I was not suggesting that he is a psychologist. I know his work quite well, including that compendium, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings,* which he co-authored in 1964. If one wanted a good illustration of the philosophic filiation between behaviorists and behavioralists he could do no better than to consult that volume. Both are concerned only with the observable in the fatuous belief that quantifying man and his behavior tells us something deeply significant. It is this intellectual fad against which I wrote and against which many of our younger social scientists are now rebelling. It is high time Berelson and his colleagues awoke to the real state of the world.

It is good to know that the Ford Foundation made small grants; it would be good to know also how many grants—large or small—were made to institutionalist economists or phenomenological philosophers. Berelson's page 42 in his encyclopedia article tells us that the "key event" that gave impetus to the spread of the word "behavioral" was "the development of a Ford Foundation program in this field." The "program areas," he says, affected political science, economics, anthropology, psychology, and sociology. Is this not the "whole range of the social sciences"? Was there some other social science to which Ford failed to pay attention?

My review was really an invitation to readers to see for themselves. No doubt there are some who would feel comfortable with the dominant positivist, behaviorist, behavioralist theme that pervades virtually every page of the encyclopedia. But why are these

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scientists so defensive? Are they beginning at long last to suspect that theirs is not the last word in human wisdom? Or is it that the decline in foundation grants has taken some of the arrogance out of their starch? They take criticism like a person with exposed nerve ends that have been scratched, crying out in agony that they have been misunderstood. So it is with all pedants.

Mr. Barber's anger, which leads him to search for equally tiny hooks from which to display his distemper, is another matter. Had my original article been printed in its entirety, I'm sure he would have become even more disturbed. Unfortunately, space limits necessitated that my piece be sharply cut. There are many more strange things in the *Encyclopedia* than those on which I commented in print.

The publisher's decision to omit any discussion comparable to the two long introductions in the older social-science encyclopedia hinged on his discovery that there were fewer thumb marks on the average on those pages than elsewhere in the one library set he had examined. Even Mr. Barber will agree that counting dirty fingerprints is hardly a scientific procedure; most positivists will concede that it is a poor measure of reader behavior. It seems to me that something was lost in deciding to forego the introductions. Alvin Johnson, who edited the 1930's set and has been a sometime adviser to the present one, once remarked that such lead articles would have been quite useful. They would have at least highlighted the editors' conception of the state of the social sciences; in their absence one has to distill that state from the entries themselves. Having done so, I conclude that contemporary social scientists are like a bunch of birdwatchers trying to measure flight patterns from the incidence of treehopping. . . .

For the gaffe on Malthus I offer a *mea culpa* under extenuating circumstances. The dozen lines on gluts, out of a total of 340 lines in the article (or 3.5 per cent to be scientific about it), are buried in a mass of italicized bibliographic citations, with the remainder (96.5 per cent), all on population theory. This suggests that my characterization of the author's attitude toward Malthus is not far off the mark. Mr. Barber may impugn my eyesight (after 17 volumes, spots do appear in one's vision), but I do love my Malthus. . . .

The age rule to which Mr. Barber refers is a stupid one. The consequent exclusion of a Friedrich Hayek and a Joan Robinson underscores its stupidity; anyone who cares about developments in economic thought knows how important they have been to the advancement of the field. Or consider the omission of entries on Robert Merton and Talcott Parsons, to take two examples from Mr. Barber's own discipline. My point is that impact and influence would have been a more reliable guide than an arbitrary year of birth. . . .

No doubt, assembling an encyclopedia is a difficult task. Often the useful and the useless are to be found side by side. While there are many good items in the *Encyclopedia* (and my review pointed to them) there are others that can be described only as deplorable . . . . Mr. Barber's snide comments remind me of the ancient Chinese attitude toward debate: He who strikes the first physical blow admits that he has lost. He may not wish to read COMMENTARY any longer, but then he will have performed surgery on his nose to punish his physiognomy.

Scientists and Orthodoxy

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

There are a number of statements in Erich Isaac's article on the Association of Orthodox Jewish Scientists ["The Loneliest Jews of All," August 1968] with which one can take serious issue. These include the author's comments on the conservative nature of the Orthodox scientists, the "jealous" defense of the autonomy of the "smaller professional groups" by members of the AOJS, and the one-sidedness of the Association's "missionary function." It would seem that the author has generalized rather broadly on the basis of a single evening at an annual dinner.

There is in addition one serious misstatement of fact which must be clearly and unequivocally rejected. As a member of the Association's Board I can attest that at no time did the Association's discussions of New York State's abortion reform bill center on "whether to support the bill or to take no stand at all," as Mr. Isaac states. The question was, rather, whether the Association's *opposition* to significant parts of the reform bill should be publicly expressed or not, in view of the support of the bill by various secular Jewish groups. The Torah view does not, for example, permit abortion because of the possibility of fetal deformity, unless the possibility of such a birth clearly threatens the mother's life or health.

It is unfortunate that one of COMMENTARY's rare forays into the world of the Orthodox Jew should be marred by inaccuracies.

SEYMOUR M. GLICK, M.D.
Brooklyn, New York

The Protocols

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Credit for a remarkable feat of detection in tracing the literary origins of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* should not be given, as Mr. Mordecai Richler suggests ["James Bond Unmasked," July 1968], to Norman Cohn's *Warrant for Genocide*. That it was a forgery based on a French satire against Napoleon III, only five or six copies of which escaped destruction, had been proved in exact detail by my brother Philip Percival Graves, the London *Times* Balkan correspondent, a year or two before the outbreak of the First World War. He named both the forger and his employer.

Full recognition of my brother's discovery was made in the Jewish press, in London at least, when he died a few years ago. But the Nazi anti-Semites, preferring to disregard facts, had meanwhile used the *Protocols* in their propaganda; so naturally President Nasser has followed suit.

The man mainly responsible for discovering the political and journalistic use of such forgeries in modern times was, it seems, the celebrated Benjamin Franklin. He published a document purporting to prove that the British government had offered their Indian allies of the Six Nations a fixed price for American scalps.

ROBERT GRAVES
Mallorca, Spain

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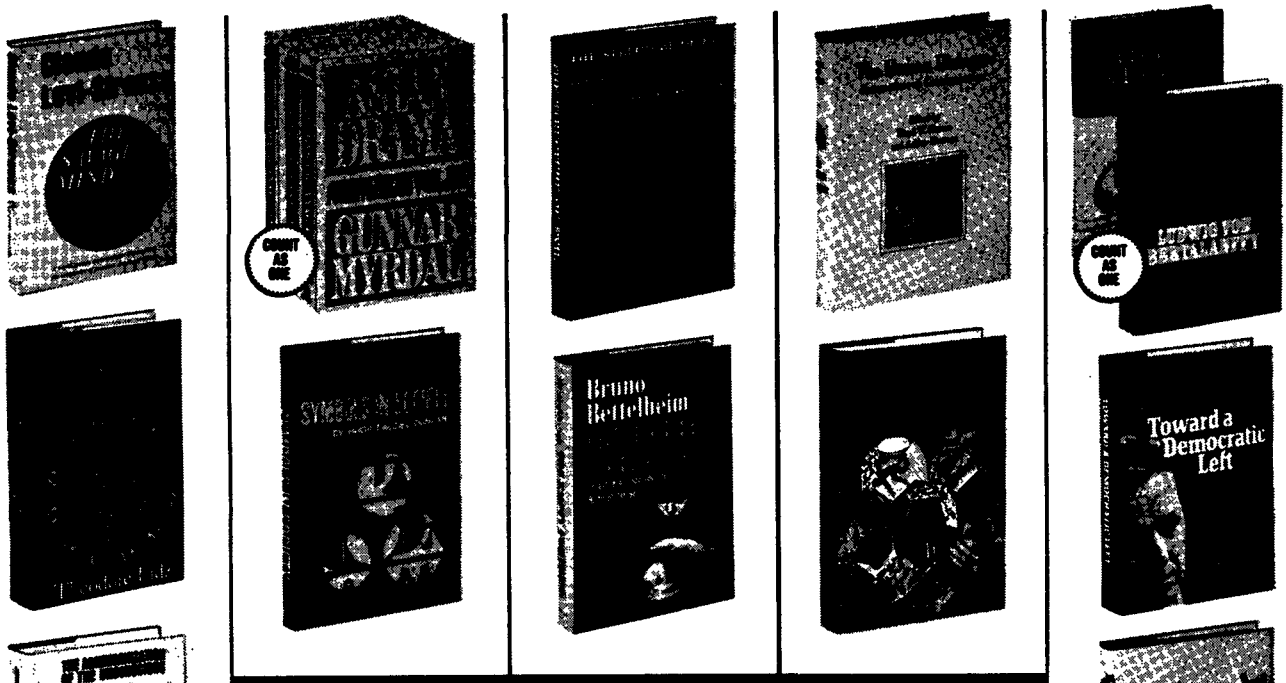

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THE NEW YORK INTELLECTUALS, *the first of the two exchanges which follow, was occasioned by* IRVING HOWE'S *article, "The New York Intellectuals: A Chronicle and a Critique," which appeared in the October 1968* COMMENTARY. *Irving Kristol is vice-president of Basic Books and editor of* The Public Interest.

MUSIC CRITICISM *was occasioned by B. H. Haggin's article, "Music Criticism Today," which also appeared in October 1968. Eric Salzman, music critic and composer, is director of the contemporary music series at Hunter College.*

I. The New York Intellectuals

Irving Kristol

IRVING HOWE'S ARTICLE has so many good things in it that one is loath to enter a dissent. He has obviously tried to be fair—but the effort falls short of success. This failure, one surmises, is connected with the undue measure of self-righteousness in his tone—something which, while no monopoly of self-styled radical thinkers, does seem peculiarly to affect them.

Thus, I find it interesting to note that Mr. Howe makes only the most fleeting reference to changes in *his* thinking over the past two decades. An innocent reader might get the impression that Mr. Howe has been, all these years, the Unmoved Mover of democratic socialism, and his radical posture spared him from all those varieties of insidious revisionism that the rest of us succumbed to. But of course this isn't really so—as I know, as Mr. Howe knows, and as his critics on the New Left know. Mr. Howe today is considerably less radical than he was twenty years ago. Indeed, from the vantage point of his earlier opinions, he would have to judge himself as having succumbed to what he calls "the politics of acquiescence" when referring to others (including me). His case is as interesting and revealing as anyone else's. Why is he so shy about discussing it?

Believe me, I write this in no polemical vein. It's just that I am getting weary of receiving transcendental admonitions from Mr. Howe which suggest that, because people like me have ceased being radical or socialist, we have somehow descended from the kingdom of intellectual responsibility to the realm of mindless and spiritless "conformity." Yes, in the late 30's and early 40's, I was—together with Mr. Howe—a young radical. By the mid 40's, I was no longer so young and had ceased being a radical. There was nothing mysterious or sinister about this transition. I ceased being a radical or a socialist because, upon reflection and with greater experience of the world, I concluded that political radicalism was, more often than not, inherently self-defeating and that socialism—in any meaningful sense of that term—was intrinsically utopian. At first I reached this conclusion with some reluctance and regret. In retrospect, however, I am pleased that I reached it when I did.

Behind Mr. Howe's perspective there lies an unexamined premise: that there is something unnatural in an intellectual being anything but politically radical, a man of the Left. The reason this premise remains unstated and unexamined is that it is obviously false—and Mr. Howe, as a historian of ideas, certainly knows it to be false. He even knows—must know—that it is as common for politically liberal or politically conservative thinkers to get to "the root of things" as for politically radical thinkers. Yet I submit that, without this premise, his article and his argument make no sense whatsoever. It is this premise that permits him to regard New York's ex-radicals as "scholars in retreat," as somehow being deviants or dropouts (or cop-outs), and to view a change of mind as a form of apostasy. This is, intellectually, on a par with explaining Mr. Howe's stubborn radicalism as nothing more than a case of the true-believer doubling the strength of his convictions when faced with incontrovertible evidence that they are false. Such explanations are agreeably self-serving, but in truth they explain nothing at all.

What gives this tempest in a teapot a special flavor of irony is that, on many specific political issues, the gap between Mr. Howe's views and my own is of relatively modest dimensions. (I am sure this occasionally bothers him!) I interpret this as meaning that, despite Mr. Howe's detestation of the idea of "the end of ideology," the idea must have some substance to it. Doubtless Mr. Howe has his own explanation. But, in any case, it would be pleasant to be able to discuss this and other matters without indulging in childish blackballing. It used to be the practice of doctrinaire left-wing sects, in the 30's, never to accept anyone's resignation. If a member resigned, he was promptly expelled. Well, I resigned from the Left a long time ago—and Mr. Howe has been expelling me ever since. It's a sterile exercise, and I wish—more for his own sake than for mine—that he would cease and desist.

I feel that I must also comment on a couple of points in Mr. Howe's article which make explicit reference to me.

Mr. Howe quotes approvingly from a 1955 article in *Dissent* by Michael Harrington, as follows:

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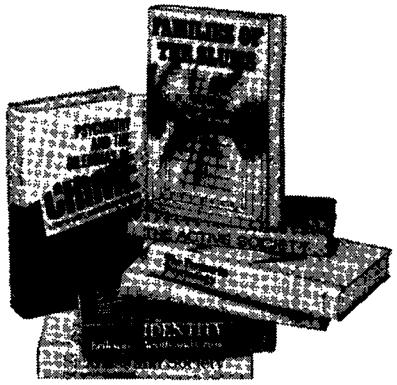

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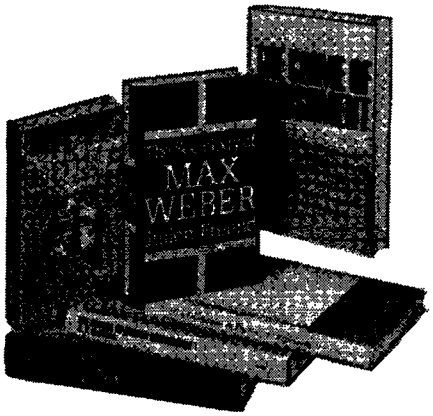

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"In an article by Kristol, which first appeared in COMMENTARY . . . one could read such astonishing and appalling statements as 'there is one thing the American people know about Senator McCarthy; he, like them, is unequivocally anti-Communist. About the spokesmen for American liberalism, they feel they know no such thing. And with some justification.'"

I fail to see what precisely is "astonishing" or "appalling" about that statement. Richard Rovere has suggested that I ought to have said "there is one thing the American people *believe* about Senator McCarthy," etc.—since the implication that Senator McCarthy sincerely cared about Communism, as against the political opportunities he calculated the issue offered him, is highly dubious. I am perfectly willing to accept that emendation. Senator McCarthy was—as I said in that same article—a "vulgar demagogue," and in my article there was no attribution of sincerity to him. But this does not affect the main point of the piece, which was that a major reason McCarthy achieved his popular influence was that the majority of articulate liberals—in New York, in Washington, but above all in academia generally—had given the American people reason to think they were incapable of distinguishing Communists, even espionage agents, from authentic liberals, social-democrats, and other dissenters from the status quo. In my article I gave several striking instances of this apparent incapacity, and I am not aware that Mr. Howe or Mr. Harrington think otherwise than I do about them. Nor can I believe they disagree with my argument that, when liberal spokesmen claimed Communists to be a species of liberal, only perhaps a bit more to the "Left," they made it that much easier for Senator McCarthy to proclaim that liberals were a species of Communist.

MR. HOWE PROVIDES another quote from Mr. Harrington: "When Irving Kristol was executive secretary of the ACCF [American Committee for Cultural Freedom], one learned to expect from him silence on those issues that were agitating the whole intellectual and academic world, and enraged communiqués on the outrages performed by people like Arthur Miller and Bertrand Russell in exaggerating the danger to civil liberties in the U.S."

I was executive secretary of the ACCF for a period of eight or nine months, sixteen years ago, and I must admit that my memory of that period is a bit hazy. But I simply do not remember any such burning issues on which I was reprehensibly silent and cannot in fact believe there were any such. On the other hand, I do recall issuing protests against one instance after another of McCarthyism: the witch-hunt against the Voice of America, the denial of visas to ex-Communists, and other instances of cultural vigilantism. I also recall that the American Committee was wracked by a major strategic dispute at that time. One section wanted to launch a campaign against Senator McCarthy, pure and simple. A second group, which eventually prevailed, argued that, since 1952 was an election year and the Committee was non-political, it ought to limit itself to specific cases of violations of cultural freedom. (I was of this opinion.) A third group consisted of a handful of members (most notably James Burnham) who were still regarded as "liberals," but who in reality were on their way toward becoming supporters of the Senator: They were averse to any action, and were shortly to leave the ACCF altogether. Now, Messrs. Howe and Harrington are free to think that I, and the ACCF, were wrong in taking the measured attitude we did. But I do not think they are free to insinuate that I, or the Committee, was somehow intimidated into silence by the McCarthyist wave, or was in secret sympathy with it. There were serious differences of opinion within the New York intellectual community on why McCarthy had the following he did, and what ought to be done about it. In retrospect, one sees more clearly than was possible at the time that these different opinions represented different political philosophies, emerging from the disintegrating radicalism of the previous two decades. But McCarthy himself was never really an issue among us. Nor did any kind of fear of Senator McCarthy exist among us. After the elections, Sidney Hook, chairman of the ACCF, wrote a personal letter to the *Times* suggesting the formation of a national movement to retire the Senator from public life. I had an editorial hand in that letter. Neither of us was under the impression that we were doing anything exceptionally bold. And, of course, we weren't.

Irving Howe

IRVING KRISTOL has been hearing voices. They entreat him, they admonish him: *Come back to the raft, Irving honey*, come back to your earlier socialist convictions. And when he refuses, they judge him.

But where do these voices come from? Who has been "expelling" him "ever since" he resigned from the YPSL? My recollection is that when he handed in his resignation—and as life would have it, handed it in to me—it was received with calm. I have checked my collected works for the last twenty years and prior to my October COMMENTARY essay find a grand total of one reference to Mr. Kristol, and that fifteen years ago. Since then, nothing. Where then have I been "expelling" him over and over again? In his imagination? And where (utopian project) has anyone been directing *transcendental* admonitions to him?

THE LARGER question he raises, concerning the relation between political disagreement and moral response, is more interesting. That there has been a tendency within the socialist movement to regard withdrawal as apostasy and betrayal, is true. That, being mere weak flesh, I may sometimes share in this tendency, I wouldn't deny. If guilty of self-righteousness, I beg forgiveness. Each kind of politics no doubt gives rise to its distinctive moral temptation: one to fanaticism, another to self-righteousness, a third to smugness. But let me also add that there are times when a moralistic judgment of those who abandon socialism is warranted.

When someone abandons socialist convictions because he has come to the serious conclusion that the humane ends which originally prompted him to become a socialist can no longer be served by those convictions, or when someone concludes that socialism may be desirable but is not reachable and we must therefore settle for the next best, then I might want to argue with him politically but could not condemn him morally. Yet who would want to say that in periods of conservatism, such as the one just after World War II, the turning away from socialism can be explained solely or even primarily as the result of conscientious reflection and humane consideration?

Many of the intellectuals who

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then dropped—dropped, rather than turned away from—their socialist convictions, were scurrying along as part of "the herd of independent minds," just as in the 60's some of the same ones are scurrying "leftward."

Now, in supposing that intellectuals (other people, too) are not *supposed* to run in packs, I may be guilty of naiveté: a fault Mr. Kristol is always prepared to correct. I may be idealizing in an absurd way what the intellectual calling amounts to, and thereby leading myself back to self-righteousness. Without some such premise, however, I don't see that it's worth bothering to think about the intellectual life at all. Either we do try to live by some value or ideal, or we're not worth a minute's notice.

And it's not as if in my zeal to pass judgment I hadn't noted some of these qualifications in my essay:

> Nor is the main point of *moral* criticism that the intellectuals abandoned socialism. We have no reason to suppose that the declaration of a socialist opinion induces a greater humaneness than does acquiescence in liberalism. . . . Still, it might be said by some of the New York writers that reality itself had forced them to conclude socialism was no longer viable or had become irrelevant to the American scene, and that while this conclusion might be open to political argument, it was not to moral attack. [You see, I knew Mr. Kristol would be sending in his letter. . . .]
>
> *Let us grant that for a moment.* What cannot be granted is that the shift in ideologies required or warranted the surrender of critical independence which was prevalent during the 50's. [Emphasis added—I.H.]

I think this ought to meet Mr. Kristol's claim that I was gratuitously moralizing at the expense of people who simply sat down—all of them together, as it were—and decided socialism was a delusion.

Ah, someone will say, but what about *you*? Are you exempt from the pressures of the times? Were your political changes—for Mr. Kristol reveals that I've changed some of my ideas—free from the cajolements of the *Zeitgeist*? It would be foolish if I were to make such a claim, and when someone else gets around to his study of the New York intellectuals, then no doubt he'll turn a cool eye on me. I'd only offer the very partial defense that both in the 50's and 60's I found myself holding views that were decidedly unpopular within the intellectual community. And if it then be said in reply that this indicates a self-comforting desire for unpopularity, "there is nothing left for me," as Turgeniev said, "but, in the words of the gypsy song, 'to take off my hat with a very low bow.'"

Still, asks Mr. Kristol with unaccustomed sternness, why didn't you cite yourself as a "case?" To which I reply with no less than four reasons: 1) I was writing a "chronicle," not a memoir, and I have a distaste for the displays of sincerity that have become part of personal journalism; 2) My "case," for good or bad, is clearly not characteristic of the development of the New York writers; 3) Explanations, apologies, defenses of my political course have appeared elsewhere and (I'm told) at tiresome length; 4) Some indication of that course was given when I remarked that among the intellectual gains of the 50's was the fact that "those around *Dissent* . . . cut whatever ties of sentiment still held them to the Bolshevik tradition and made the indissoluble connection between democracy and socialism a crux of their thought."

Mr. Kristol wonders if I'm uncomfortable because the gap between his views and mine is of "relatively modest dimensions." Well, let's look at that gap for a minute. What we share is that both of us profess a commitment to democracy and to at least some civility in political discourse. Right now, in truth, that is no small matter, mostly because some intellectuals, in what they regard as "radicalism," are compromising their commitment to democracy and encouraging a kind of politics which in syle if not content revives many of the worst features of Stalinism. Still, that doesn't make the gap between Kristol and myself of "relatively modest dimensions." I suspect that on this matter he has been brain-washed a little bit by the New Left. . . .

I admire Mr. Kristol's rhetorical strategy: in effect, "Aw, come on, Irv, you don't really believe in all that socialist stuff, do you?" But I do. It's lamentable, I know, and a sign of cultural lag. But I really want to see the major segments of the American economy socially-controlled and democratically-operated, and I really want a major redistribution of power and wealth in the U.S. What exasperates me about the current political situation is that the polar irrationalities now in fashion get in the way of what ought to be the main political struggle of our time, that between Mr. Kristol's conservatism and my socialism.

Why was Harrington astonished and appalled by the sentence he quoted from Mr. Kristol concerning Joe McCarthy?

Harrington was astonished and appalled by the clear implication that Joe McCarthy, since he was "unequivocally anti-Communist," enjoyed a major advantage—and more than a tactical advantage—over "the spokesmen for American liberalism," about whom it couldn't be said that they were "unequivocally anti-Communist." And "the American people" (no less) had "some justification" in feeling that McCarthy enjoyed this advantage over "the spokesmen of American liberalism." What's right is right: and "the American people" knew it.

If no longer astonishing, all this is to me still appalling, not merely for its tacit comparison between McCarthy and "the spokesmen for American liberalism," which must be seen as scoring points for the former, but also for its characterization of "the spokesmen for American liberalism." What Mr. Kristol wrote was true for some types around the *Nation*, but "the spokesmen for American liberalism?" By the 1950's?

I really can't believe that so sophisticated a man as Irving Kristol failed to see why many people would find his statement outrageous.

No one suggests the ACCF was in "secret sympathy" with Joe McCarthy. What Harrington charged was that dominant figures in the ACCF were inclined to subordinate the fight against McCarthy to a campaign against those deluded liberals who, in the name of anti-McCarthyism, dismissed the threat of Stalinism. Harrington was saying that both represented major assaults upon freedom, and that within the U.S. itself, during the 50's, McCarthyism was clearly the more immediate danger. The question was: where did the most intense concern, the major thrust of the ACCF lead to—and here I think Harrington's judgment was right. Nor were Harrington and I alone in that judgment, as Mr. Kristol surely knows.

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II. On Music Criticism

Eric Salzman

SINCE I HAVE BEEN so far spared the fearsome thunderbolts of B. H. Haggin (I fully expected a few to be hurled my way for some dissenting views on Toscanini I once expressed), and since I am no longer primarily active as a critic, I thought I might be permitted to comment on his bold attack on the music critics. Mr. Haggin is quite right in his basic thesis—i.e., that music criticism in this country is in wretched shape. Scarcely anyone —not even the very critics Mr. Haggin skewers—would argue the general point; there are only some small differences of opinion about which ones are the worst offenders and what is the exact nature of their offense.

Frankly, Mr. Haggin's case would have been much stronger if he had not made it so dependent on the total acceptance of his own infallible perception, taste, standards of judgment, knowledge, and skill. For example, he is quite right to point out that it is misleading to call a young ensemble "immature" for not following the accepted classical practice of varying certain repeats; but it is absurd to suggest that a call for such ornamentation or variation is pedantic because Toscanini and the Budapest Quartet didn't do it that way. His wrong-headed assurance on the second point will cast unnecessary doubt on his quite valid first point. To take another area: What is pleasant or unpleasant to the ear in singing voices is notoriously a matter of taste and there is no doubt that this taste changes from generation to generation and from place to place. Mr. Haggin's attempts to impose divine authority on the question are convincing only to the already converted. He may, in a given instance, be perfectly right by me but I doubt his divine patent to be right and therefore I begin to be skeptical about every statement he makes on the subject. He is also subject to idolatry (his idols can do no wrong), and I always find idolatry suspect. But I have no wish to tangle with Mr. Haggin; on the contrary, I only want to suggest that his major point must not be lost in the inevitable and useless torrent of musical quibbles and squabbles that will surely follow his article.

NO ONE, least of all Mr. Haggin, has even begun to suggest the real nature of the problem. I do not pretend that the following is definitive but perhaps it's a start.

1) American culture—in its intellectual aspects at least—has always been verbal-visual. Music is not taken seriously as an intellectual pursuit; most of the older (and some of the younger) members of the American intelligentsia aggressively regard themselves as musical "outsiders" and resolutely reject the musician's premise that ideas can be communicated in a non-verbal fashion. Therefore they (our intellectual "leaders," that is) will not and cannot take seriously any verbalizing about non-verbal art and ideas—even if the usual difficulties of language and jargon are not present. If the quarterlies and the monthlies will not lead the way, what can one expect from the weeklies and dailies?

The situation is quite different in Europe, where there is a good tradition of criticism and musical *feuilletons*, where music has always been taken seriously as a high intellectual and artistic pursuit, and where it has always been regarded as, first and foremost, a creative as much as a performing or interpretive art. For example, take the level at which Boulez addresses the readers of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*—and then compare the complete botch made of it in translation by a leading American musical writer and publisher.

2) Mr. Haggin never questions his conception of the *role* of music criticism. He is talking about one small aspect as if it were the whole: the interpretation of the established European art music of the period roughly from Bach to Bartok. Mr. Haggin sees the critic's role as a kind of "keeper of the sacred flame," and in this respect the differences between him and the critics he criticizes are only of degree. The "keeper of the flame" mentality grew out of the earlier role of music critics in this country—to proselytize and educate a raw but newly well-to-do public anxious to acquire a veneer of approved high culture. But, little by little, the culture bearer has turned into a knuckle-rapping schoolmaster. There is something Alexandrian or talmudic about the arguments over who preserves the authentic tradition, the right way, the path of righteousness. Why should we take Mr. Haggin's word (as opposed to that of the other critics or, more to the point, of the musicologist, the curator, the analyst-scholar) on how to perform "properly" the masterpieces of the past? Because he knows more? No, the scholars, analysts, and many of the younger performers know more. Because he isn't a pedant? Not a sufficient reason. Because he has better taste? No, that's circular; Mr. Haggin has better taste because he's right and he's right because he has better taste. Because he is a better writer? Maybe, but that doesn't make what he has to say more correct. Because he has more natural musical talent or because he is better trained musically? Perhaps, but he'll have to prove it. Because he hears better and is a more careful reporter? Okay, but what happens if I say I prefer the sound of Mr. X's voice to that of Mr. Y? (Mr. Haggin could, of course, show that Mr. Y's voice is far more appropriate to the music at hand than that of Mr. X. But then we are in the province of scholarship—style, authenticity, and all that.) Or he can lead us to his own deeper insights about the music and then measure the performer and the performance against this. But then we are approaching not divine good taste, not merely better reportage, but a known and understood *point of view* backed up by careful knowledge and perception. There is perhaps nothing so important in judging a critic as knowing your man and his point of view. There is nothing necessarily eternal about a point of view; the critic, as David Noble says, may be nothing more than a participant in a dialogue. He ought to have the capacity to be wrong. He must be involved in his art in such a way that his criticism becomes part of its history and meaning. Otherwise we are better off without it. Otherwise I prefer anyone's simple instinct about a performer and a performance to all the critical fulminations in the world.

BUT I DO NOT intend to write an

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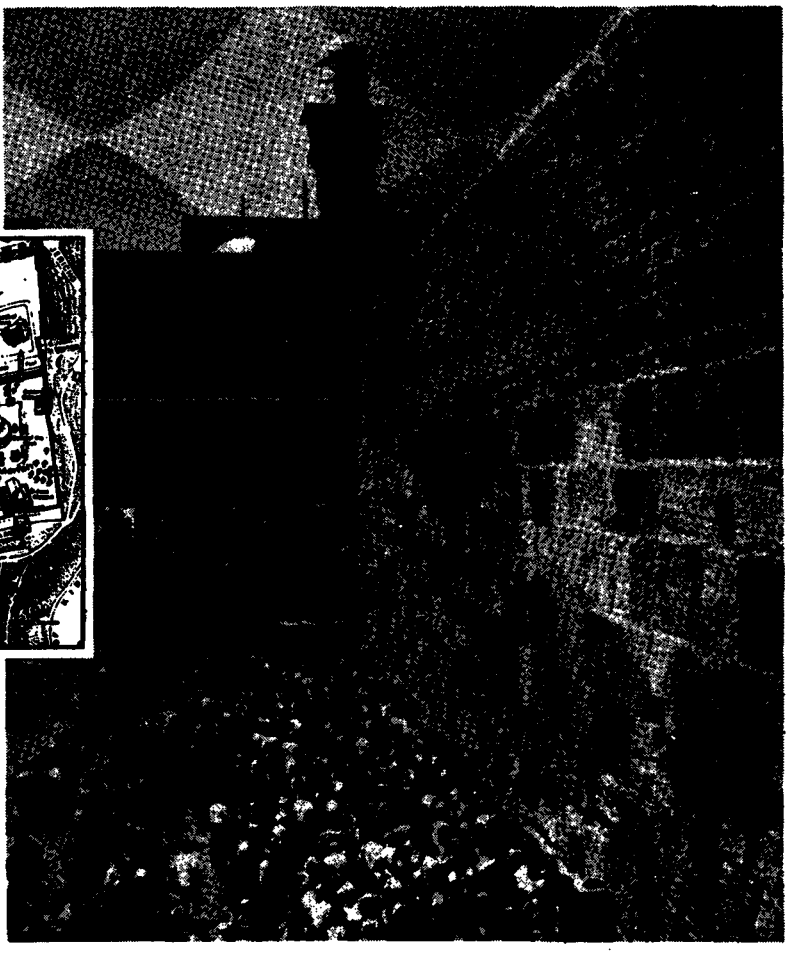

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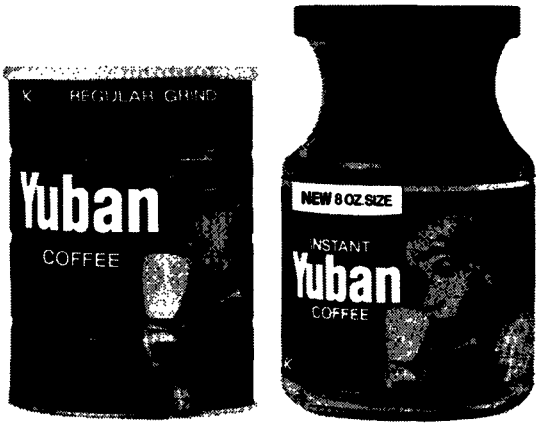

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essay on criticism; I only want to suggest that criticism—even criticism of the critics—must come out of some larger view or it is only useless diatribe. It is not enough to claim to be God's deputy. Mr. Haggin criticizes the critics by telling us that he is right and all the other critics are wrong.

3) The so-called "power" of the critic is almost entirely due to the agreement of a small number of people (mainly impresarios, managers, out-of-town producers, and other critics including Mr. Haggin) to take it seriously. The larger public certainly does not. They don't even generally read music criticism and when they do, they skim it for the rating and not for content. I know of dozens of cases of excellent reviews which did nothing for a gifted performer and, conversely, I know of many cases of artists who have survived a persistently hostile New York press. In almost every case it is the prevalence of recordings that makes the real difference. The prestige of the New York critic derives almost entirely from his (already mentioned) role as a culture bearer to the nouveau elite and from the residual prestige of the traditional concert. But the basically unmusical audience that is often called the "musical public" is a tiny and bored fraction of the "real" musical audience that has been created by records. The record critic is much like the movie critic—he can send out a few faithful readers, money in hand, but not much more.

The music biz is all boom or bust, but the record industry is geared differently and it can appeal to all kinds of audiences with all kinds of music, interpretations, and price levels. This certainly reduces the critic's function as censor and sometimes forces a broader view. This is why the record magazines, with all their shortcomings, have better (admittedly a relative term) general writing about music than anyone else.

4) The "keeper-of-the-flame" attitude is not prevalent in the other arts and it is not at all taken for granted in European criticism. Who would want to read a drama critic concerned only with the intricacies of Shakespearean declamation, or a dance critic who talked only about the proper interpretation of "Giselle" or spent all his time analyzing the style of Pavlova? Why shouldn't music criticism also be concerned with the fundamental and profound questions of music and society, music and contemporary life, music and technology, musical ideas and ideas expressed through music, musical evolution, the "non-classical" forms including pop, music and the other arts, and, most particularly, contemporary developments. Isn't this what criticism is all about? All the rest is merely "reviewing." And even reviewing—grammar, syntax, punctuation, diction, delivery—should be illuminated by some kind of larger view, some *Weltanschauung*. Does it seem obvious? Mr. Haggin makes no mention.

BUT OF COURSE the kind of music criticism suggested above is virtually impossible in this country. I speak from personal experience because I've tried it; the result is that I am an ex-critic (I still do record reviewing and write occasional articles). It is almost impossible to get serious critical writing on music into print, let alone make a living at it; there are simply no outlets for it.* Personally I have no complaint; I have always been primarily a composer and getting out of "criticism" was the best thing that ever happened to me. But someone who wanted to devote his life to serious music criticism would have a hard time—as indeed has Mr. Haggin himself. Music criticism in this country is simply *not* a profession and real music criticism can scarcely be said to exist at all; if it did exist, I don't know how it would get through. If there are no outlets, no training ground, no examples, no stimulus, no standard setters, how are we going to develop good young critics? Of course we don't have any. We have only bad journalism and crusty old-timers.

PERHAPS IT DOESN'T really matter; after all, we get what we deserve and in the long run it all works out all right. What is happening is that music criticism (or reviewing) is coming to have less and less importance in musical life and I'm not sure that's so terrible. The people who read music criticism or the publications in which music reviews ordinarily appear either want a dope-sheet or else they are uninterested. The people who are really involved in music in this country—by and large the younger generation, for the most part a record-radio-oriented audience—don't read music criticism and couldn't care less. Maybe—keepers of the sacred flame notwithstanding—they are right. They know a lot, these kids. They invented Carl Nielsen, brought back Mahler, went overboard for Ives and the Beatles, split a raga or two with Ravi Shankar, and bought out Telemann even though the critics said Telemann was a two-bit composer. They dig electronic music and they think that Karl Ristenpaart is the grooviest conductor around—and the critics didn't tell them to think that.

In fact, I have made the astonishing discovery that one can reach this new audience far more quickly with the musical experience itself than with a commentary about it, and I can't think that this is altogether a bad thing. Maybe they are misled a bit now and then about a piece or a performance. That's not so serious a matter as the fact that Mr. Haggin's world of music is altogether in crisis; that the new music is turning a corner; that the most talented young musicians are discovering that they have been prepared for "careers" that don't exist; that the music biz is largely sham, built on false hopes, illusory ideals, and a Hollywood version of imported Biedermeier culture; that new institutions and means of musical communication are being or must be created. Sure, music criticism in this country is a crock. I understand quite how Mr. Haggin feels. But he is criticizing the interior decoration when the whole building is collapsing. Musical culture *must* be something more than bigger and better performances of *La Traviata* or the *Appassionata* at bigger and better cultural centers. Perhaps Mr. Haggin knows this full well, but the thrust of his apparently valid put-down is in another direction and he fails utterly even to begin to touch on the deep and disturbing nature of the problem. Maybe we should worry less about reviewing, criticism, and other musical policing, and worry more about music and musical life; in the end we might even come up with something more real and more relevant, not only in musical life but in music criticism as well.

* There are no general music magazines in this country outside of the record magazines. An important performance might be reviewed in two or three places, a new work once or not at all. The market for general articles is almost nonexistent.

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B. H. Haggin

MR. SALZMAN'S ARTICLE on Toscanini was one of a number of items I might have included in my examples if there had been unlimited time at the YMHA and space in COMMENTARY. And I will say something about it now because of its bearing on his reply.

A valid criticism of Toscanini must be a criticism of what he actually did. One of the things he did is described by a member of the NBC Symphony, Josef Gingold, in *The Toscanini Musicians Knew*:

> His ideas of clarity, of voices always emerging clearly—there has never been anything like it. He would take just, let's say, the second clarinet and third horn and violas—inner voices—and make them play alone. . . . He made these voices sing as if they were thematic, and then incorporated them with the rest of the orchestral texture. . . .

What Gingold describes, I and many others heard in the performances. But a major contention in Mr. Salzman's article was that Toscanini's performances showed him to be a top-line conductor—i.e. one concerned only with the principal melodic line, not with the rest of the musical texture. And one might say this showed Mr. Salzman to be a top-line critic—one whose ear could hear only the principal melodic line in the performance, and not the rest of the musical texture that Toscanini enlivened in the way Gingold describes and others heard. But the important thing to say is that Mr. Salzman's criticism dealt not with what Toscanini actually did, but with what Mr. Salzman said Toscanini did that he actually did *not* do.

And Mr. Salzman does the same thing with me. He writes that I am

> quite right to point out that it is misleading to call a young ensemble "immature" for not following the accepted classical practice of varying certain repeats; but it is absurd to suggest that a call for such ornamentation or variation is pedantic because Toscanini and the Budapest Quartet didn't do it that way.

But in this he misstates what I actually wrote:

> Here the knowledge Steinberg is dropping—which does apply to the repetition of a section in a keyboard piece by Couperin or a *da capo* aria by Handel, in which variation was customary—does not apply to the minuet in a symphony or quartet by Haydn or Mozart, in which the composer has written out all the notes and the layout of dynamics for their performance, and his direction to repeat it after the trio is a direction to repeat it as he has written it. And the Guarneri Quartet, in doing this, doesn't exhibit immaturity any more than Toscanini and the Budapest Quartet did.

I didn't say either that the Guarneri hadn't followed "the accepted classical practice of varying certain repeats," or that Steinberg's demand for varied repeats had been "pedantic because Toscanini and the Budapest Quartet didn't do it that way." I pointed out, on the contrary, that the classical practice with the minuets of Haydn and Mozart symphonies and quartets—as against the pre-classical practice with the keyboard piece of Couperin and the *da capo* aria of Handel—was *not* to vary the repeats; so that in not varying them the Guarneri *was* following accepted practice—which is to say, the practice of all conductors and quartets, exemplified by Toscanini and the Budapest Quartet; and in so doing the Guarneri did not lay itself open to a charge of immaturity any more than those conductors and quartets did.

At this point in Mr. Salzman's reply it was clear that he was not only a critic who couldn't hear correctly what happened in a Toscanini performance, but a muddlehead who couldn't read correctly what I wrote. And I saw no reason for wasting my time reading and correcting the misstatements of what I had written that I presumably would encounter in the rest of his reply. Nor was my decision to read no further changed by the report of the literary critic Marvin Mudrick—who out of curiosity read the entire Salzman reply when he happened to be visiting me—that Mr. Salzman took off into high-flown discussion of "issues" which had no relevance to what I said at the YMHA and in COMMENTARY, and to what I consider to be the task of the music critic: to listen to what is presented to him, to hear it correctly, and to report accurately what he heard and what he thought of it.

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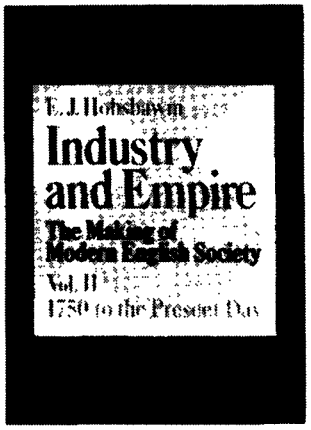

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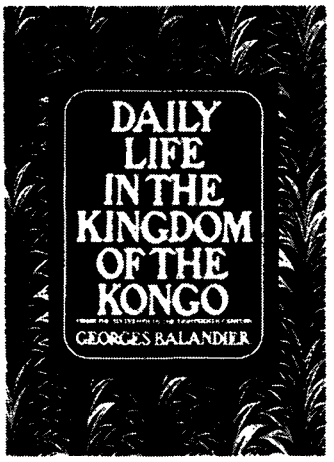

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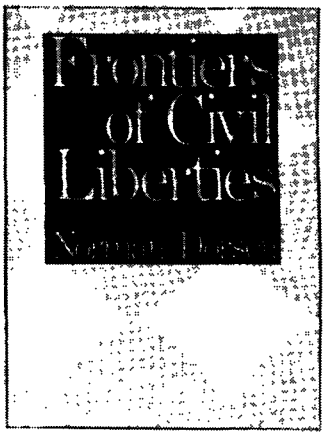

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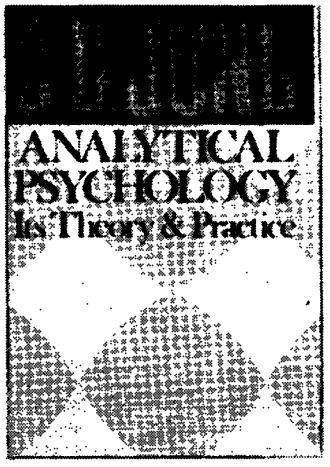

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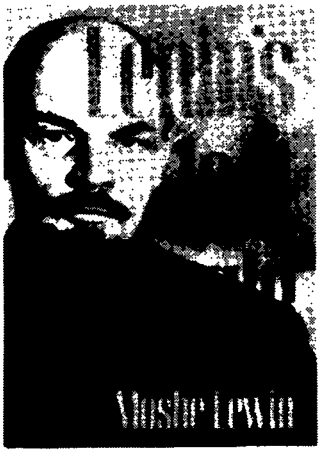

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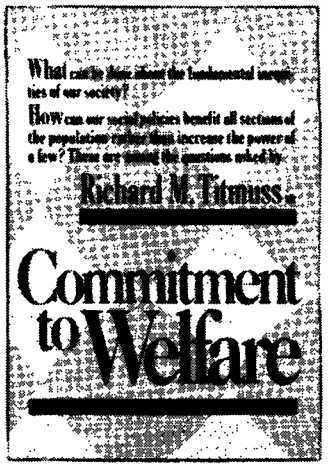

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The Black Revolution & the Jewish Question

Earl Raab

ABOUT A HALF-CENTURY AGO, Louis Marshall, the eminent constitutional lawyer who was also president of the American Jewish Committee, said firmly: "We do not recognize the existence of a Jewish Question in the United States." That distasteful phrase, "The Jewish Question," evoked the European model: the political uses of anti-Semitism. Marshall made the statement precisely because he saw that the Jewish Question in the political sense *was* coming alive in the United States. It did, and preoccupied the domestic Jewish consciousness for the next quarter of a century.

For the past quarter of a century, there has been no serious trace of political anti-Semitism in America. Any suggestion today that "it could happen here," has had an antique flavor and would be widely branded as phobic, paranoid, and even amusing. There is the old joke about three men who were asked to write an essay about the elephant. The Englishman wrote on "The Elephant and the British Empire," the Frenchman on "The Elephant and Love-Making," the Jew on "The Elephant and the Jewish Question." But we have learned a great deal about the Jewish Question, and if the subject of the essay were Western democracy instead of elephants, the joke would no longer be a joke. The potential for political anti-Semitism, aside from its special interest to Jews, turns out to be a particularly useful vantage point from which to examine the state of the general society. And responsible people are again having to deny nervously that there is a Jewish Question in America. The American Jewish community's concern with its own security may be coming full circle.

From the end of World War I to the beginning of World War II, the American Jew's defense efforts were increasingly keyed to political anti-Semitism, as distinct from garden-variety discrimination. Political anti-Semitism may be defined as the attempt to establish the corporate Jew as a generalized public menace, the implication being that some official public remedy is called for. The same distinction has been made between "objective" and "subjective" anti-Semitism, "concrete" and "abstract" anti-Semitism, and the real Jew and the mythical Jew as target. But by whatever names, and whatever the relationship between the two kinds of anti-Semitism, Jews know the difference. Not getting a particular job is one thing. A pogrom is another.

Political anti-Semitism did not become serious in America until about 1920. In that year the staid *Christian Science Monitor* carried a lead editorial entitled "The Jewish Peril." A few years later, a book called *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem* had a run of half a million copies. The articles in that book—"The Scope of Jewish Dictatorship in America," "Rule of Jewish Kehilla Grips New York," and "How the Jewish Song Trust Makes You Sing"—and many others of a similar bent had already received wide distribution in Henry Ford's national newspaper. And Henry Ford, it must be recalled, was not a Los Angeles mail-order crackpot. In 1923, at the height of his anti-Semitic fulminations, *Collier's* reported that he led all other possible candidates, including the incumbent President, in its national Presidential preference poll. Other straw polls agreed. William Randolph Hearst announced that he was prepared to back Ford for that office. The KKK during the same period had a membership which blanketed at least a quarter of all white Protestant families in America. And at one point in the 1930's, someone identified about 150 organizations whose primary business was the promotion of political anti-Semitism. Father Coughlin, who reprinted the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in his national newspaper, had a regular radio audience of millions.

To these seemingly mass assignations with anti-Semitism, the organized Jewish community responded with a program based on the image-of-the-Jew theory of anti-Semitism. At the national B'nai B'rith convention in 1930, Sigmund Livingston said that the necessity was "to educate the great mass in the truth concerning the Jew and to demolish the foibles and fictions that now are part of the mental picture of the Jew in the public mind." The Jewish community mounted what must certainly have been one of the most prolific

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mass educational programs of all time. Yet anti-Semitic activity and popular support of avowed anti-Semites were at their height when summarily cut off by America's bitter embroilment with the world's arch anti-Semite.

A few short years later, America seemed to emerge from the war as a nation in which the Jewish Question was miraculously dead. American Jews, of course, felt that the war had been fought—and won—around the Jewish Question. Maybe they believed that other Americans felt the same way. Maybe they believed that other Americans were responding en masse to the revelations of the Holocaust. In any case, political anti-Semitism seemed stripped of any respectability; indeed, anti-Semitism became one of the cardinal political sins. The nation was even able to sustain a major red-baiting demagogue who carried Cohn and Schine on his hip and flirted with anti-Semitism not at all. Israel was established. Stalin died. American Jews settled down to a new security.

AT THE SAME TIME something else was happening in the country. The Jewish Question was apparently being supplanted by the Negro Question. And the defensive energies and apparatus of the Jewish community moved from one to the other. At least, that is the way it turned out. A surface theory relating to Jewish security rationalized the move: Equal opportunity for one means equal opportunity for all. But no one examined this dubious axiom very closely. America seemed to be approaching a state of perfectibility: The nation's great flaw, slavery, was being brought to account; democracy was marching to fulfillment, and the Jewish community obviously belonged on such a march, whatever the reasons. Several motivational streams in Jewish life merged at this point, as they never had before: the instinct for self-preservation; the religious ethic, invoking the prophetic tradition; and the political program—liberalism—for which so many Jews had developed a special secular affinity. On this level, the Jewish community found itself with a coherent and organic position.

Of course, this preeminent concern with civil rights swiftly and inevitably became a predominant concern with the needs and aspirations of the Negro community. After the FEPC principle had been established in the North, the laws that were passed and the court cases that were pressed had less and less direct application to the security of the Jews. The Jewish Question became more and more remote. But the Jewish community remained deeply and comfortably involved.

However, after little more than a decade, this first stage in postwar developments, the Civil Rights Revolution, began to change character. The second stage reflected the shift from the goal of equal opportunity to the goal of equal achievement, from civil rights to the war against poverty, from the Civil Rights Revolution to the Negro Revolution. The shift should have been quite predictable. Equal opportunity is not equal achievement, except for those who are equally equipped to compete. An enclave population now existed whose cultural and educational "equipment" had been comprehensively stunted for generations. The American society, moreover, had deliberately created this enclave population. For the impoverished and uneducated immigrants to America equal opportunity had been enough, because other societies had depressed them. In their minds, America owed them no more than an opportunity, and the gradualist road to parity which all emerging groups have traveled. But America owed the Negroes more than opportunity. The battle-cry of the Negro Revolution was not opportunity, but parity in the economy as well as in the society, starting with an instant end to poverty. Toward that goal, the demands were not just for equal treatment, but for compensatory treatment on a kind of reparations basis.

For the Negro community, this stage was a logical extension of the Civil Rights Revolution. But for the organized Jewish community some adjustment was required. The apparatus of the Jewish community committed itself to the campaign against poverty, and throwing the slogans about equal-opportunity-under-the-law into the attic, began to look for a role in that campaign. Consideration of Jewish security became even more remote.

There were only a few years of war-against-poverty innocence before the third stage set in. It quickly became apparent that the billion-dollar anti-poverty programs were not suddenly going to turn history on its head; and with that realization, the Negro Revolution began to be overlaid by the Black Revolution. Since New Deal days, at least, Americans have subscribed to the social engineering fallacy: Any problem can be solved if only we devise enough programs and spend enough money. The fallout of the massive anti-poverty programs of the early 1960's created a salaried black bureaucracy in the ghettos and undoubtedly helped a number of individuals up the ladder—but finally these programs were more effective in raising expectations than mass standards of living. The goal of instant parity seemed more desirable and further away than ever. Against the background of such frustrations, and other frustrations provided by society, there has developed a new kind of reactive pattern in the black community, and in the white community as well. It is as a result of these new patterns that the Jewish Question makes an abrupt re-entry on the American scene. Not a matter of searching for anti-Semites under the bed, this perception that the Jewish Question is back comes from what we have, since Louis Marshall's time, learned about the nature of anti-Semitism and about the

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nature of the conditions under which it flourishes.

The "Vulnerability" of the Population

THERE ARE THREE obvious conditions that coincide to produce a period of political anti-Semitism: the kind of political and social instability which makes anti-Semitism useful; a political leader who is willing to use it; a mass population that is willing to embrace it.

It is the belief in an "unwilling" American population, in the obsolescence of anti-Semitism as a cultural form in America, which gives Jews their greatest sense of security. Yet it is this belief itself which is obsolete.

To begin with, one does not have to be an anti-Semite in order to engage in or support anti-Semitic behavior. This proposition contradicts the "image of the Jew" theory of anti-Semitism. It contradicts the tendency to reify anti-Semitism, to conceive of it as a little mental package tucked away in a corner of the brain, waiting for the proper stimulus to bring it, full-blown, to life.

About six years ago, a Jewish couple in San Francisco was terrorized for over a year by a juvenile gang. The incident was described across the country as a shocking case of anti-Semitism. There were insulting phone calls every night between midnight and dawn. The couple ran their business from their home and could not have an unlisted number. Anti-Semitic slogans and swastikas were painted on their home. Garbage was left at their door. The torments were constant and cruel, and the middle-aged couple lived a year of hysterical fear. Finally the police caught a handful of teenage ringleaders. The investigation of these young men, their background, family, psychology, was thorough. No particular "anti-Semitic" history was discovered. The families were bewildered and provided no clues. There were no anti-Semitic organizations, insignia, pamphlets, or cartoons found hidden in the woodpile. The group had exhibited no special anti-Semitic proclivities.

The story of their year-long sport was further revealing. It had started casually with anonymous phone calls being made rather widely and at random. The game proved to be most fun with this couple because they responded with lively anger and fear. The game became increasingly intense. But for many months these teenagers did not invest their tricks or insults with any suggestion of anti-Semitism. Only well into the year did they discover that anti-Jewish comments added new life to the sport, drew even more heated and fearful responses. It was then that they began to concentrate on anti-Semitic references.

In short, the evidence indicates that these young men did not engage in tormenting activity because they possessed some quality called anti-Semitism. Rather, they committed anti-Semitic acts because they were engaged in tormenting activity. They were not cruel out of anti-Semitism, but anti-Semitic out of cruelty. During the 1930's anti-Semitism was generally understood to be a tool of repressive politics, but it was also thought that the use of this tool was possible only because a large mass of people were anti-Semitic in the first place, held unusually negative attitudes toward Jews and had become ideologically committed to these attitudes. But the behavior of this juvenile gang gives us a different analytical perspective: Willing to engage in a certain type of behavior, they did not reject anti-Semitism as an instrument.

IT IS POSSIBLE, of course, to say that if there were no historical or cultural reservoir of differential feelings and images about Jews, anti-Semitism could never be used as an instrument. But that is something like saying that if my grandmother had wheels, she would be a cable car. First of all, it is not very likely that one of the most stubborn cultural conventions of Western civilization for well over a thousand years will erode very quickly, even though a process of erosion may already have started. The French Revolution did not succeed in obliterating the cultural continuum of anti-Semitism, but only invested it with new secular forms. The Russian Revolution did not eliminate anti-Semitism, and neither did a dramatic fresh start in a New World. This generationally-transmitted reservoir of cultural anti-Semitism is, again, not best conceived of as a mass of little dark corners in the minds of individuals, but rather as a *common* reservoir of beliefs built almost ineradicably into our literature, into our language, into our most general cultural myths. All of us, Jews as well as non-Jews, have some taproots into that common reservoir. It is further sustained by real-world conditions which will not disappear swiftly: Jews as marginal, minority, visible, alien—in the Diaspora, and perhaps even in the Middle East.

But what about the reported drop in the level of this reservoir of familiar negative stereotypes (or "Folk Anti-Semitism," as they are collectively called)? Charles Stember has demonstrated what is apparently a spectacular decline in the holding of such stereotypes between the 1930's and the 1960's, as evidenced by poll data.* The findings are valuable, but as Stember points out, they require some independent evaluation of their actual meaning: "[Our findings] do not always tell us whether [anti-Semitism] has changed in prevalence or only in overtness." The reservoir may indeed have dropped somewhat, but how much of this reflects the fact that anti-Jewish stereotypes may be less fashionable, or less salient to express at this time?

* See *Jews in the Mind of America,* Basic Books, 1966.

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After all, these attitude changes did not take place over a thirty-year period. They dropped rather suddenly—after, not during, the war. The American people were asked by one poll or another in every year from 1937 on whether they thought anti-Jewish feeling was increasing in the country. About a quarter of the people thought so in 1937. The figure rose steadily until 1946, when over half of the people thought anti-Semitism was increasing. In 1950, a poll recorded that only 16 per cent thought so. The American people certainly didn't seem to undergo any ideological revulsion against anti-Semitism because of their war against Hitler. In 1940, asked what groups are a menace to America, 17 per cent named the Jews; by 1946 the figure had risen to 22 per cent, and by 1950 it had dropped to 5 per cent. Stember suggests that in these recent years the Jews have been less in the consciousness of America, either unfavorably or favorably. To stretch the imagery, this may speak of a quiescent rather than an emptying reservoir.

One of the difficulties in measuring the total level of such feelings at any given time may be the change in their forms of expression. One study found that postwar college graduates had apparently divested themselves to a considerable degree of the traditional and unsophisticated Shylock image of the Jew. But these college graduates were just as likely as others to believe that Jews were "clannish" and "aggressive." Or again, according to Stember, "the belief that Jewish businessmen are dishonest has become markedly less current during the past 20 or 25 years. It has largely been replaced by the notion that they are merely shrewd or tricky." He goes on to say: "Even this less extreme image is less widespread than the belief in Jewish dishonesty once was, although only a minority of the population reject it outright."

The last clause is perhaps all that counts for any reappraisal of the potential of political anti-Semitism. Whether the reservoir of folk anti-Semitism has dropped in fact or only in appearance, it is still immense. Whether it is a matter of Jewish aggressiveness, Jewish clannishness, Jewish shrewdness, or whatever, the great majority of Americans still hold to *some* pattern of differentiating, and negative, stereotypes about Jews. And there is scarcely an American who does not know what these stereotypes are, even if he does not profess to hold them. The instrument is there, readily available in our culture. The juvenile gang in San Francisco had no difficulty plucking it out when they had use for it, although the level of their folk anti-Semitism had previously been no greater than that of other Americans.

THERE IS A PARALLEL in political anti-Semitism. Father Coughlin's movement, after a certain point, became explicitly and overtly anti-Semitic. Yet the surveys found little difference in anti-Semitic beliefs between his followers and the rest of the American population. A recent comparison between a group of right-wing letter-writers and a sample of the national population found minuscule differences in gross levels of folk anti-Semitism (Jews have faults, are shady, are shrewd and tricky), but significant differences between them when the questions took on political dimensions (Jews are Communists, have too much power, are stirring up the Negroes).

However, it is not just that there is no automatic correspondence between folk anti-Semitism and political anti-Semitism. The point is greater than that: Given our common cultural background, there is not necessarily much of a relationship between anti-Semitism of any kind and support of an anti-Semitic movement. Only 20 per cent of Coughlin's supporters *said* they would back a campaign against Jews; but the other 80 per cent were *in fact* openly backing a campaign against Jews in their support of Coughlin. For them anti-Semitism was apparently not a salient reason for supporting Coughlin, but they were willing to support him for other reasons, and his anti-Semitism did not bother them. Similarly, many observers of the German scene before 1933 reported that the Nazis were supported by large numbers who were not anti-Semitic. And today? Asked in a recent poll whether they would support or oppose a congressional candidate who was running on an anti-Jewish platform, one-third of the American population said that they would neither support nor oppose him for that reason; his anti-Jewish program would be a matter of indifference to them. In this way it is possible to be anti-Semitic without being an anti-Semite—at least any more of an anti-Semite than anyone else.

Thus as far as the "vulnerability" of the population is concerned, the key is not the level of anti-Semitic beliefs, but the level of resistance to political anti-Semitism. The question is not whether people dislike Jews more or less, but whether they are *against* the violation of democratic rights for Jews—or anyone else.

There is much evidence to suggest that the American public's level of commitment to the abstract principles of democratic procedure is not reassuringly high. The democratic commitment in America consists more of loyalty to institutions, groups, and systems which support democratic procedure, than of an internalized set of beliefs. When that loyalty is shaken, so is the democratic commitment.

The work of Philip Converse and others indicates that integrated belief systems are probably restricted to the "talented tenth" of the American population, and disappear rapidly as we move down the educational ladder. Among the

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mass of people, no comprehensive ideology, good or bad, is operative. Political ideas do not exist in any large scheme of consistency or even of compatibility. The "why" of their connection, one to the other, is missing. The nature of political thinking is geared to the concrete rather than to the abstract. Converse points out that this condition is not "limited to a thin and disoriented bottom layer of the *lumpenproletariat* [but is] immediately relevant in understanding the bulk of mass political behavior."

THIS PAINFUL SITUATION explains why the sophisticated concepts of the democratic process cannot stand much of a strain. It also explains how so many people could support Coughlin's anti-Semitic platforms without themselves being anti-Semites. In the light of his findings, and discussing the Nazis, Converse writes: "Under comparable stresses, it is likely that large numbers of citizens in any society (and particularly those without any long-term affective ties to more traditional parties) would gladly support *ad hoc* promises of change without any great concern about ideological implications."

To say that the large public does not consist of ideologues is not to say that it is feckless or foolish. The American public demonstrably has a strong sense of its own basic democratic rights, and has no reluctance to assert itself with respect to those rights. This is the strong popular spine on the body of our republic. It serves us well in most situations. But the application of abstract and ideological democratic principles to the matter of balancing these rights under stress calls for conceptual skills, historical perspective, and wide-based integrated belief systems which are very far from being prevalent in this country. Thus, the bulk of the data indicates that massive numbers of Americans who presumably have a ritual attachment to the concept of free speech and would reject any gross attempts to subvert it, do not understand or care much about the fine points of that concept when the crunch comes, when hard-core dissenters intrude upon their sensibilities. The American people would reject any gross attempt to subvert religious freedom, but almost half of them say that if a man doesn't believe in God, he should not be allowed to run for public office. And a majority of them, while jealous of due process, would rather throw away the book and resort to the whip when dealing with sex criminals.

In short, American democratic institutions have flourished because some people understood them, and the rest of the people were loyal to them. This loyalty is based on an inertia of investment in the country, the system, and the traditional political structure. At times mass dislocations of such loyalty have occurred, usually spinning off new and "extremist" political movements.

"Extremism" and the Jewish Question

"EXTREMISM" IS A CRUDELY descriptive term for a movement which advocates or engages in undemocratic behavior. Extremist movements are, in fact, movements of disaffection. They are created by and addressed to people who as a group feel that they have just lost or are about to lose their grasp on something important to them; or those who feel that something important they have never had but want is just outside their grasp. In both cases, there is attached to this sense of substantive deprivation, a sense of power deprivation. This felt deprivation, accompanied by major social dislocation, and sharply shifting expectations, succeeds in breaking up many traditional loyalties. Without an attachment to the traditional system, and without an extended ideology, the common democratic commitment is subject to undemocratic subversion.

None of these conditions predestines the emergence of political anti-Semitism; they are just the risk factors, the conditions under which political anti-Semitism is more likely to appear. The final ingredient is a political movement which actually takes this road. As we have seen, modern political anti-Semitism does not rise from a grass-roots demand, nor do most supporters of mass anti-Semitic movements seem to care much one way or another. However, though its followers are not necessarily ideological, a deviant and radical political movement is. Concomitantly, its leaders, and especially its "intellectuals," are ideologues, and transfer their own integrated belief systems to the movement.

The internal logic of these belief systems typically requires a conspiracy theory, with all its moralistic, absolutist trappings. If the opposition is only wrong, if the "mess" we are in is only the result of mistakes, then a remedy can be found within the traditional political structure. But if the opposition is evil, and the "mess" a result of evil deliberately and conspiratorially done, both a sharp deviation from the political structure and a repressive closing down of the democratic marketplace are morally legitimized.

Again, people may not be primarily attracted to a political movement because of its conspiracy theory, but many have no intellectual barriers to such ideas. About a quarter of our national population, in sample, recently agreed with the classic formulation: Much of our lives is controlled by plots hatched in secret places. The percentage agreeing grows as the educational level drops. And a conspiracy theory does serve an expressive purpose for people caught in frustration.

Conspiracy theories are basically abstract in nature. The conspirators, in order to serve the purpose, must be largely distant, hidden, faceless, kabbalistic: The Elders of Zion, the Kremlin, the Wall Street Bankers. But since most minds

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are geared to the concrete, it becomes helpful to connect these abstractions to a visible body of people. The development of a conspiracy theory adds yet another risk factor for political anti-Semitism. There is a mountain of literature prescribing the mythical Jew as the ideal target for a well-turned conspiracy theory.

But the initial point is this: in the light of the last half-century of experience and research, it is appropriate to say that the Jewish Question is already being raised again in America. In a malaria-prone country, the malaria question would be said to exist if the familiar breeding swamps were merely building up. Political anti-Semitism, the Jewish Question, does not relate in the short range to folk anti-Semitism, nor to the prevalent state of any set of images or feelings toward Jews. In America, the Jewish Question is substantially the same as the Question of the Democratic Society. Mendele Mocher Seforim wrote: "The Jewish Question—that's the wide canal which drains all the impurities, all the dirt and mud and sewage of man's soul." The release of democratic restraints, the substitution of jungle for law, of conspiracy theory for reason, of confrontation for negotiation, of hyperbole for politics, of repression for social progress—that *is* the Jewish Question, as it has come to have special meaning for modern society. These are the issues around which the only effective fight against political anti-Semitism can take place. They are alive again today, and therefore the Jewish Question is coming to life again.

The Black Revolution and the Jewish Question

ON ONE SIDE, there is growing a mass movement of disaffection among the black population: a volatile constituency with a well-justified sense of general deprivation, and of specific power deprivation, characterized by low levels of education, systematic belief, and commitment to abstract democratic principles. "Mass movement" usually denotes some formal cohesion: A structure and a formal system of affiliation, which people can join or around which fellow-travelers can gather; or, alternately, a charismatic leadership with whom a following can identify. As yet the black mass movement of disaffection possesses neither. Indeed, while black people are, of course, distressed, dissatisfied, and have the bitter knowledge that they are relatively deprived, most of them have not yet been jarred loose from traditional loyalties to the political party structure or the system in general. At least so the polls, as well as the recent voting patterns and the repeated failures to organize in the ghetto areas, indicate. Also, all the objective indices testify that the aspirations of the great bulk of black people are primarily instrumental; built around a simple desire to get into the chrome-plated American system. But to be effective a mass movement does not need to be, and never has been, a "majority" of any population. Color and population concentration, in this case, provide a built-in system of affiliation and communication which can substitute for more formal organization. And within that system, there is stirring a genuine movement of disaffection, still disjointed, but with certain common expressive and extremist currents that are swelling, especially among the young.

The theme of the first postwar stage in race relations was equal opportunity. Out of the progress and frustrations of that stage came the theme of the next: anti-poverty. Out of the progress and frustrations of that stage came the third: Black Positiveness. And on the edge of Black Positiveness has emerged the phenomenon of Black Expressivism.

A sharp distinction has to be drawn between Black Expressivism and Black Positiveness. It has become a standard anti-poverty theorem that Negroes have to be given control of their own bootstraps if they are going to be asked to lift them. In order to join the American parade, the Negro community has to find its own identity, and shake itself loose from the degradation and self-degradation of the past. This is Black Positiveness, power, pride, dignity, as preface to economic integration. In addition, an obvious piece of political realism had to come to the fore: The black community was not going to be able to take a serious part in American pluralism until it established its own political strength and instruments. It had to shake loose from the coalitions long enough to do that. The corollary is that the political society would not otherwise respond to the needs of the Negro community. This is Black Positiveness, and Black Power as preface to political integration.

THERE IS ANOTHER face to Black Positiveness, more symbolic and less clearly instrumental, but still related to an ultimate goal: The black man should feel wholly like a man. The road to that goal in America has always been through the achievement of an instrumental position in the economy and the polity. But America had made a point of depressing the status of the Negro, in itself—and the black community now became interested in elevating that status in itself—especially since the instrumental access to status was obviously not going to be instant. This involved a subtle shift in emphasis. Thus, the demand that black history be taught in the schools was grounded in solid instrumental theory: It has educational utility, not only for the white student, but for the black student, whose sense of confidence and self-worth is related to motivation and achievement. But in the last few

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years the burden of this demand shifted from well-disposed educators and liberals to the young black people themselves. Educational theory aside, they wanted the symbolic fullness of their identity established here and now, for its own sake.

Expressiveness involves yet another subtle shift, however. All the above demands can, and have been, invested with anger and high emotion, but the passion is goal-directed. When a demand is made, or an act committed primarily to vent anger or frustration, then we enter the realm of expressive behavior. The line is often murky. What about the further demand that black history be written only by blacks and taught only by blacks? At what point is that demand primarily an extension of black pride, and at what point is it primarily an expression of anger and hostility toward the white establishment? In any given situation, the line is often difficult and fruitless to draw. But it is nevertheless a significant line, between politics and anti-politics. In its logical extreme, the pathology of expressive public behavior was revealed in the Old South when lynchings rose as the price of cotton went down, and in Old Europe when massacres of Jews took place in the wake of the Black Plague.

EXPRESSIVE POLITICS may be defined as the externalization of internal frustrations, bearing little direct relation to the solution of the problems which caused the frustrations. The chief function of such politics is to provide emotional release; and, at its peak, its currency is a kind of hyperbolic, hyper-symbolic language. "Racism" became an affective epithet —with an eager assist from the writers of the Kerner Commission Report—and lost its meaning. The growing use of "pig" as the definitive heart of the language, as in "racist pig" or "fascist pig," further revealed the exclusively expressive nature of this latest stage in the movement. Impetus came from a black intellectual class, whose orbit grew rather swiftly as many college administrations made extraordinary efforts to bring black faculty members, black students, and special black programs to the campuses.

Recently a black instructor at a state college told 2,000 students at a rally: "We are slaves and the only way to become free is to kill all the slavemasters," identifying the President, the Chief Justice, and the governor of the state as slavemasters. He also told them: "If you want campus autonomy and student power and the administration won't give it to you, take it from them with guns." That is expressive talk *par excellence*. Everyone knows who has most of the guns and all of the tanks. But in urban high schools and ghetto areas around the country, more and more young people are adopting the expressive mode. They are not ideologues, like the state college instructor; they are more often frightened, angry, personally desperate young people for whom the schools and most other social institutions are irrelevant prisons.

In some cases, what was once personally expressive behavior born out of such conditions, has become politically expressive behavior. What would once have been known as delinquency is now invested with political significance. Black expressivism exists on many levels but is now coalescing into an "expressive movement"; this movement is buried and growing within the larger black community, and developing all the appurtenances thereof, including common language, symbols, heroes, and a conspiracy theory.

Expressive politics has always frightened the Jewish community. Before the Civil War Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise warned the Jews against the Abolitionist movement. He approved of its goals, but was afraid of its nature. The same point is currently being made for the Jews by the kinds of expressive anti-Semitism that are emerging from this black expressivism. This is not the folk anti-Semitism which the black population shares with the white population. It is, rather, the abstract and symbolic anti-Semitism which Jews instinctively find more chilling. Negroes trying to reassure Jewish audiences repeatedly and unwittingly make the very point they are trying to refute. "This is not anti-Semitism," they say. "The hostility is toward the whites. When they say 'Jew,' they mean 'white.'" But that is an exact and acute description of political anti-Semitism: "The enemy" becomes the Jew, "the man" becomes the Jew, the villain is not so much the actual Jewish merchant on the corner as the corporate Jew who stands symbolically for generic evil. "Don't be disturbed," the Jews are told, "this is just poetic excess." But the ideology of political anti-Semitism has precisely always been poetic excess, which has not prevented it from becoming murderous.

The surveys which generally show that the reservoir of folk anti-Semitism among Negroes is, if anything, a little lower than that among their fellow Americans, are irrelevant for the reasons given above. The relevant fact is that "the movement" is developing an anti-Semitic ideology. On one coast, there is talk about how the "Jewish establishment" is depressing the education of black students. On the other coast, a black magazine publishes a poem calling, poetically of course, for the crucifying of rabbis. "Jew pig" has become a common variant of the standard expressivist metaphor. On this level, there are daily signals.

Then, too, "Third World" anti-Semitism is becoming more of a staple, at least among the ideologues where it counts most. Jewish schoolteachers in New York were told in one tract that "the Middle East murderers of colored people" could

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not teach black children. At the last national convention of the Arab students in America, Stokely Carmichael, the main speaker, admitted that he had once been "for the Jews" but had reformed.

Of course, many middle-class blacks are horrified by all this. But on the community level, where the pressure is, they are likely to say that it would not do for them to attack such manifestations, because it would seem to be an attack on the militant movement itself (this reaction throws another light on the ability of a movement to be anti-Semitic without a corps of anti-Semites). They are likely to say that these manifestations are "only symbolic," without understanding that symbolic anti-Semitism is the most frightening kind. Or they might explain that these attitudes are not widely reflected in the black community—which is, to complete the circle, irrelevant.

BUT HOW DANGEROUS, finally, is the anti-Semitic ideology being developed by this growing black movement? If the movement is destined to be relatively powerless, should it be a source of major concern? More particularly, if this movement is pitted so directly against the white majority in the country, does that not render its anti-Semitism still less dangerous? Such questions ignore the fact that this movement has already succeeded in reintroducing political anti-Semitism as a fashionable item in the American public arena—with what consequences no one can yet tell. It would, moreover, be a repetition of old mistakes to think that if a black movement uses political anti-Semitism, anti-Semitism must therefore be rejected by anti-black whites. One propaganda effort during World War II was designed to reduce anti-Semitism among Americans by linking Nazism and anti-Semitism, and then attacking Nazism. An evaluation reported that the campaign increased hostility toward Nazism without reducing hostility toward Jews. And we have seen that the American public fought bitterly against Hitler during the war, without apparently altering its attitudes toward Jews.

However, there is another, more problematical area of concern that might be anticipated if the expressive black movement continues to grow. The black community is on the verge of a major political breakthrough. A good number of cities are soon destined to be numerically controlled or heavily dominated by their Negro populations. These are the cities in or around which most American Jews live, and in which their business and public lives are largely conducted. If the expressive black movement, with attendant political anti-Semitism, continues to grow, its effect on Jewish lives will be incalculable. (Incalculable also might be the effect on American foreign policy in the Middle East of a prevailing anti-Israel sentiment in important political centers.) There will, of course, be an intensification of the upward-mobility conflict that is already becoming a visible part of the Negro-Jewish complex. (As one Jewish teacher plaintively told the New York *Times*: "We don't deny their equality, but they shouldn't get it by pulling down others who have just come up.") More generally, the political structure in these cities is going to be under considerable strain. There is the possibility of a classic marriage, a manipulative symbiosis, between the privileged class and the dis-privileged mass—in this case a WASP class and a black mass—in these cities: the kind of symbiosis which existed in the 1920's between respectable Republican leaders and the KKK, and which permitted a temper of repression and bigotry to flourish. The anti-Semitic ideology developing in the black movement would be eminently suited to such purposes. Some have suggested that the edges of this possibility are actually peeking out in New York City. Certainly, whatever the outcome, this face of the black expressive movement is there for the Jewish community to contemplate with justified concern.

The White Backlash and the Jewish Question

OF COURSE, ON THE OTHER SIDE, there is a white population which exhibits, from its own vantage point, the same dangerous characteristics: a volatility, with broken loyalties; a sense of general deprivation and of power deprivation; relatively low levels of education, systematic belief, and commitment to abstract democratic principles—a population, in short, both extremist and expressive in tendency. This is the more traditional backlash pattern, which has produced America's major anti-Semitic movements of the past.

These movements were involved in preserving something which seemed about to be lost. When successful, they were typically a strange marriage between members of the upper and lower economic strata who were protecting different interests together. Economic concerns were often present, but the decisive bond was a set of symbolic issues. The critical element of the mass support was some kind of status deprivation and alienation: a disappearing way of life, a vanishing power, a diminishing position of group prestige, a scrambling of expectations, a heart-sinking change of social scenery, a lost sense of belongingness. In the 1920's, the backlash of traditional rural Protestantism, losing its hegemony in the nation, provided this element. The census of 1920 reported that for the first time in American history urban dwellers were in the majority. The cities were taking over the nation; new kinds of people were taking over the cities; the small-town

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dweller, whether staying behind or coming to the big city, was apt to feel in the back-waters. KKK leader Hiram W. Evans complained that the "Nordic American today is a stranger in a large part of the land his father gave him." In the 1930's, the depression-bound people who supported Coughlin were not only interested in some aspects of social change, but also threatened by other aspects of social change. Coughlin, in the classic mode of fascism, wanted to create a revolution within the symbolic bounds of a traditional way of life. In both decades there were massive dislocations, large sections of the population being torn away from their traditional political loyalties, and therefore from ritualistic democratic constraints to which they had no deep ideological commitment.

WE ARE NOW FACED with more massive dislocations than we have experienced since the 1930's, and perhaps since the Civil War. Just as there once was a nativist (Protestant) backlash against the emergence of immigrant (Catholic and Jewish) economic advancement, cultural imperialism, and political power in the cities, so we now have a white backlash against similar Negro advances in the cities. The breakdown of "law and order" that is attendant upon such periods is itself a status-shaking, power-dwindling experience. Policemen have consistently been the most conspicuous vocational presence in every major backlash movement in American history. It is not that they differ all that much psychologically or otherwise from the rest of the non-elite American population, but that they are on the front lines of the conflict. Many white citizens feel that they are getting short shrift in schools, law enforcement, and city hall generally because of black power. Certainly, they don't approve of the concept of "compensatory" treatment for blacks. And they can expressively wrap around this issue all of their angry feelings about the frustrating decline of American status in a new world, and the apparently losing battle of the citizen against bureaucracy and taxes.

The Birch Society, more Liberty League than Coughlin, has never seriously attempted to exploit the white backlash, or to get in touch with mass America at all. McCarthyism was a kind of false pregnancy, although serving fleetingly to reveal the potential for undemocratic repression which lies in a large mass of the American public. George Wallace was, at least for a time, the Pied Piper of repression, tuned into the large and ideologically soft underbelly of white America. His low November vote outside the South was comparable to the low vote that Coughlin's candidate Lemke received at a time when Coughlin's movement was booming. Many blue-collar people who had given their genuine expressive approval to Wallace when the pollsters came around, or when he came to town, voted instrumentally when they went, hand on pocketbook, into the booths.

Of course, Wallace has shown no evidence of raising the Jewish Question, but some parallels have been drawn between him and Huey Long. Huey Long never raised the Jewish Question either, although it was not that unrespectable in his time to do so. But Huey Long never quite made the transition from Louisiana demagogue to national ideologue before he was killed. And among his top staff people was Gerald L. K. Smith, one of the nation's most committed ideological anti-Semites. Coughlin's full belief system, his conspiracy theory, his political anti-Semitism, emerged fully only midway in his career, after bitter disappointments. What might have developed in the Long movement, with Smith at his elbow, is of course incalculable. It is a matter of record that George Wallace similarly had in the background of his campaign last year speech writers, advisers, and organizers who have openly engaged in political anti-Semitism. This did not make George Wallace an anti-Semite, nor destine him to be one, but it made a number of Jews uneasy. And, Wallace aside, it is only reasonable for the uneasiness to accumulate as the risk factors do. History often finds its own man. Even Coughlin has begun to publish a magazine again, after twenty-six years of silence.

The Jewish Community and the Jewish Question

BETWEEN THOSE TWO FORCES, between those two harbingers of the Jewish Question, lies an increasingly bewildered and fragmented Jewish community. A few short years ago, there was a kind of coalescence of religious, political, and defense impulses among the Jewish leaders, who were massed on the civil-rights front, with their constituency trailing securely and benignly behind. Today, a different situation is suggested by recurrent vignettes such as one described in a recent JTA news dispatch, dateline New York:

> The rabbi of the East Midwood Jewish Center in Brooklyn sharply rebuked a crowd who booed and jeered Mayor John V. Lindsay this week as the mayor attempted to address an audience in the temple on the dispute between the teacher's union and the largely Negro Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district. . . . The mayor was shouted down when he said that both sides in the dispute were guilty of "acts of vigilantism." Rabbi Harry Halpern took the microphone and declared, "As Jews you have no right to be in this synagogue acting the way you are acting. Is this the exemplification of the Jewish faith?" Shouts of "yes, yes" were the answer. Some members of the audience belonged to the congregation, and others were members of

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the community at large which is white, middle class, and predominantly Jewish.

In the same dispatch, the JTA reported that "the national body of Conservative Jewish Congregations expressed concern this week that recent statements by some Jewish groups and individuals have tended to equate the entire Negro community with anti-Semitic slurs voiced by a few black militants. . . . The board also urged Jews 'not to react to limited extremism with our own extremism.' "

In the conglomerate, the Jews of America seem to be in a new ambivalent position. No one in his right mind has ever called the Jewish community monolithic. But with all its formlessness, the Jewish community has in recent memory always had a prevailing public stance—in the parlors as well as in the agency offices—with respect to certain kinds of issues: the Birch Society, fair employment practices laws, fair housing laws. Today it is symptomatically difficult to find a prevailing public stance with respect to such current issues as police review boards, neighborhood-controlled schools, Black Student Unions.

It would be a misreading of the situation to suggest that all the Jewish community needs is to pull up its moral socks. The Jewish involvement with the plight of black America cannot simply be seen as the religious or liberal imperative for social justice. There is, more clearly than ever before, the legitimate and independent Jewish imperative for self-survival. Of course, this self-survival, given the nature of the Jewish Question, could be seen validly—if somewhat remotely—as identical with the survival of the democratic social order. And this period may be another perilous episode in that recurrent dilemma of modern society: The problem of separately pursuing social (economic) justice and a democratic social order without despoiling either. Western history has a long record of failures in that quest, and, not surprisingly, the Jewish Question has more often than not been in attendance.

BUT THERE ARE more concrete implications. The Black Revolution is spurring the Jewish community—and America—into a renewed understanding of pluralistic politics. The fresh Jewish stirrings are not primarily a backlash reaction, although there is some of that. There is most significantly a turning inward; in a real sense, a *regrouping*. There is a new tendency to ask seriously a question which has only been asked jokingly for a number of decades: "Is it good for the Jews?"

Alfred de Grazia has well described the spirit of the age of rationalistic mass democracy which was set in motion by the Enlightenment, and which came to a certain rhetorical fruition in America:

> Beginning in the nineteenth century there might be no interests apart from the interests of the mass of people, however cloudy such a concept might be. An equally accepted but opposite belief was that the individual, a solitary wayfarer in life and politics, could govern himself without belonging to any cohesive groups. The two beliefs might be simultaneously held, for they are psychologically, if not politically, consistent. In the individualism and utilitarianism of Benthamism, all interests break down. Little thought goes to the mass authoritarianism or majoritarianism that was the inevitable denouement. Whereas the mass public had never before been seriously regarded as the active agent in legislative processes, the People was now sculpted into a massive monolithic interest group.

Official segments of the Jewish community seemed to embrace precisely this concept when the Golden Age set in after World War II. Negroes were to pursue a just society not primarily as Negroes, which they merely happened to be, but as Americans along with fellow-Americans. Jews were to pursue a just society not primarily as Jews, which they happened to be, but as Americans along with fellow-Americans. And so forth: A salvation army of Americans with identical moral concerns was marching together. The language was not all that clear, of course. Jews were told that "civil rights" was good for them, which indeed it was. But it was told in passing, as a corollary to the main image of all-Americans-marching-morally-together. The image became increasingly fuzzy as the 1950's yielded to the 1960's, and many Jews suffered traumatic shock when the Negroes detached themselves from the marching army and said, "Wait a minute, we've got a different interest here, a different drummer and a different pace."

There was the religious language also: The prophetic traditions and the Jewish moral imperatives were invoked. The Christian clergy invoked their own, as did, no less fiercely, the humanist liberals. But there has always been a certain uneasy ring of truth in the pejorative use of the term "do-gooder." If a do-gooder is someone who is primarily and exclusively motivated by moral concerns in the political arena, he is more often than not a mischief maker. Politics is not identical with morality, which does not mean that politics need be immoral. To be sure, politics at its best is the negotiation of conflicting group interests within the constraint of rules which are morally based. But the distinction between morality as a political constraint, and morality as a central engine of political action, is a crucial distinction. To put it another way, the do-gooder is the evangelist who knows what is best for everybody. When the Negroes, seizing their own identity, said: "It is only we who really know what is best for us," they brought everyone up short, and they brought the Jews back for yet another look at their own group identity in America.

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In 1927, in the middle of the debate as to whether Jewish Welfare Federations should merge with general Community Chests, Morris D. Waldman told a national conference: "I am constrained to believe that the existence of separate Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic Federations . . . is not going to retard brotherhood. Because I am thoroughly convinced that if the universal brotherhood will ever come, it will not come in the form of a fraternity of individuals, but as a brotherhood of groups. . . . The group will-to-live is at least as strong as the individual will-to-live. . . ."

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY's independent group will-to-live is being reasserted in response to the reemergence of the Jewish Question in America—as well as in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East. Less and less, as one consequence, will the public affairs agenda of the Jewish community be the same as that of the black community. This is not a matter of withdrawing support from those generic items on the black agenda which must be on the common American agenda and in which the Jewish community has a strong derivative stake—most notably, the rapid reduction of ghetto poverty. There may, however, develop sharper differences as to the point at which the rate of reduction is to be increased "at any cost" or "by any means whatsoever." The maintenance of a democratic rule of law is essential to Jewish survival. Nor is it just a defense against extremism which will finally protect that social order. If the Jewish community has in the past had a special concern with greater participation by the ghetto population in civic affairs, as a means of strengthening the democratic fiber, it must also now have a special concern with greater participation by the white lower-middle-class population still in and around our cities. These are people of the "common democratic commitment" who are not horned and leprous bigots, but who have troubles of their own, a dignity of their own to maintain, and a growing sense that they are being left out. As Irving M. Levine has said: "Our rightful transfixion on Negroes has developed into a 'no-win' policy, hardening the lines of polarization between white and black into a reality that could blow the country apart. To change this white reaction, some of the brilliance which articulated Negro demands will have to be similarly developed to speak to and for lower-class America."

BUT THERE are other items which may more poignantly illustrate the temper of a new agenda. For example, there is a liberal movement toward the public-funded privatization of the public school system, starting with neighborhood control and ending with any group of parents—or an institution of their choice—being able to set up a school to which their children can go at public expense. The consequences of such a development, with its potential for racial, ethnic, and religious separatism, may call for independent evaluation by the Jewish community. In most cities new ethnic and racial competition for various public boards and posts is developing. Eventually, the Jewish community may be required to act more politically as a community if it is to hold its own in such competition. The point is not the abandonment of universal values, but the development of a more self-conscious focus of group interest.

The Jewish Question is alive again because the American political structure and its traditional coalitions are in naked transition. The common democratic commitment trembles within both the white and black populations. New kinds of political configurations are in the making. The past quarter century turns out not to have been, as some envisioned, the passageway to some terminal American Dream. It has been the staging-ground for some as yet indistinct future American design. The Jews, somehow in trouble again, need to make their own particular sighting on that future.

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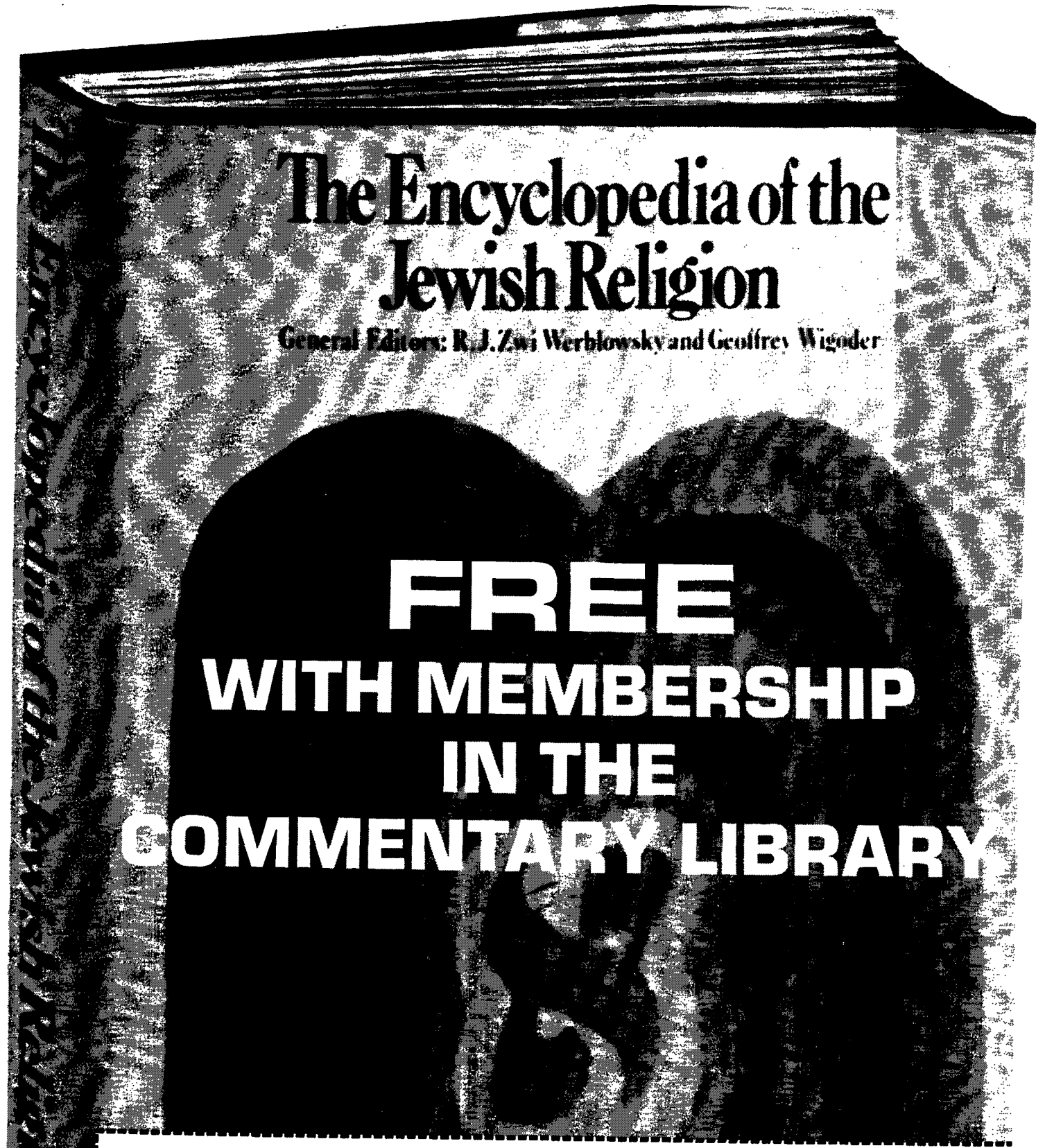

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The Democrats After 1968

Penn Kemble

IT HAS ALREADY become a cliché that, despite most predictions, the Democratic coalition held together pretty well in the 1968 election—almost well enough, indeed, to have produced a miracle. Like any cliché, this one is partly true, but it overlooks what was unique, and therefore especially significant, about the election. In point of fact, the old coalition did *not* hang together; rather, a new coalition, fashioned in part out of the old, began to take shape and to express itself in electoral politics.

A striking paradox should be noted at the outset: Hubert Humphrey, the most liberal major-party Presidential candidate in American history, was nevertheless the nominee of the traditional Democratic coalition. Humphrey's supporters at the Democratic convention in Chicago included the Southerners, the unions, the Negro regulars, and most of the urban and ethnic machines. But in the course of Humphrey's campaign, several elements of the old coalition deserted him.

The Democratic National Committee, first of all, the mainspring of the party apparatus, was a complete shambles when Humphrey took it over. Lyndon Johnson, in his desperate quest for consensus, seems unilaterally to have dissolved his own party organization. The staff and budget had been drastically reduced, the youth arm virtually disbanded, and confusion and incompetency given free rein. As a result, Humphrey had practically to reconstitute an entirely new national party just for his campaign. Nor did Humphrey inherit any financial assets from his predecessor. A sum of about $700,000 in a President's Club fund was not released by Johnson to the Humphrey effort. That sum could have gone to voter registration drives early in the campaign, when registration was possible and when Humphrey was running on nerve alone.* Many organizations, lacking only money, were ready to engage in registration drives; they stood by for weeks, as rumors flowed that the President's Club funds were about to be distributed. In the end, however, nothing was forthcoming, and registration deadlines passed in gloomy succession.

This lack of effective organization and funds early in the campaign had a drastic effect. There was a serious decline in voter registration in some important Democratic areas, and a marked decline in voter turnout compared with that of the last three Presidential elections. Had voting been at the level of, say, 1964—when the participation was not remarkably high—Humphrey might well have carried the four major industrial states he lost, and defeated Nixon in the electoral college.

Old-line Southern Democrats also decided they would sit out the election. (Some of them—like Congressmen John Rarick of Louisiana and Mendel Rivers of South Carolina—actually campaigned for Wallace.) Humphrey not only lost every state in the deep South; his victory in one border state, Texas, is probably more to be credited to the vigorous efforts of a Negro-labor-Mexican alliance than to such belated developments as the rapprochement of quarrelsome party factions, or President Johnson's own campaigning. The Dixiecrats preferred to hold on to local and congressional offices, avoiding confrontation with the Nixon and Wallace forces, rather than take the risk of campaigning for a Democratic nominee whose domestic and civil-rights record they —unlike some Northern liberals—had not forgotten. Even under a Republican administration—perhaps more so than under a Democratic—the Southern Democrats knew they could retain powerful congressional positions as senior partners in the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition.

The response by the Northern machines was, in many cases, not unlike that of the Dixiecrats. In Chicago, Mayor Richard Daley assumed early that Humphrey would lose, and poured his substantial resources into local campaigns for offices

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*Apparently there is some question as to whether funds raised as these were, by selling advertisements in a President's Club publication, may be used for non-partisan registration. Johnson showed great scrupulousness by putting the money in trust and waiting for a ruling by a fair practices commission, to be given after the election. In view of the unprecedented sums spent by Republicans, and the Nixon campaign's clear violation of financial reporting procedures set by the Corrupt Practices Act, it is possible to conclude, as some have, that Johnson may have been unduly scrupulous. Perhaps, like some of his critics, he did not want to risk a blemish on his personal moral record for the sake of partisan political gains.

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rich in the perquisites needed to sustain the Cook County machine. Billboards and campaign literature supported obscure Democrats for minor offices, while the Humphrey organization in Chicago had to rely on union literature almost to the end. As a result, Daley's candidates often ran well ahead of the national ticket.

In California, Jesse Unruh, who currently is flirting with the "New Politics," contributed nothing to the national ticket. The Humphrey campaign in California was virtually nonexistent until the eleventh hour, and even then Unruh was most unenthusiastic in his endorsement. (Ironically, the election left Unruh in a poor position for picking up the pieces—the Republican sweep cost the Democrats the control of the state assembly, and Unruh has lost his important position as assembly speaker.) The regular Democratic organization in another key state, New Jersey, which John Kennedy won in 1960, also performed poorly. Voter participation fell drastically. There was a drop of 25,000 in Newark alone, much of it in Negro areas that would have given Humphrey high percentages had voting been heavy.

To these defections by old-line Democrats may be added the disaffection felt among liberals. While many liberals did come over to Humphrey in the final moments of the campaign, few worked actively to offset the consequences of the passionate anti-Humphrey rhetoric of August and September. Nixon carried every state in which there had been serious Democratic primary fights, and when final returns are in it will probably be shown that he carried a very high proportion of all the election districts which sent anti-Humphrey delegates to the Democratic national convention. This state of affairs cannot be blamed entirely on the liberals, of course, but it does reveal one significant failing in their political strategy last year. In their attempt to wrest the party away from the Johnson administration, the anti-war liberals placed great importance on winning delegate strength for the convention in areas that do not vote solidly Democratic. (This strategy became pronounced after the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, for Kennedy appealed, as McCarthy did not, to blacks, blue-collar workers, ethnic and even organization Democrats, and could effectively challenge the administration in those sectors of the population as well as in the suburbs.) The anti-administration forces focused their final preconvention drive on suburban, rural, and even Southern delegates. Their main issue, opposition to the Vietnam war, had appeal in all sectors of the population. But on some other issues they occasionally slipped into traditional Republican rhetoric: They were against "big government"; in favor of local initiative; against the bureaucratic labor bosses; against guns and butter (if not carefully defined, this could be perverted from an argument for ending the war into a conservative argument for ending domestic spending in wartime). Even if leveled with the best of intentions, the kinds of attacks made on the administration—not to mention the way the primary struggle was fought—probably helped lay a basis in certain areas for the Nixon sweep.

To be sure, some anti-war Democrats have suggested that Humphrey's final surge was really their doing, that they did indeed deliver the vote after Humphrey shifted to a more dovish position on Vietnam. But, to judge from the tempo of the campaign, this contention, if true at all, is only partly so. Humphrey's Salt Lake City speech, in which he affirmed his comitment, if elected, to halt the bombing on North Vietnam, was not the pivot on which the entire campaign swung. The same speech enumerated conditions for ending the bombing similar to those set forth in the majority plank of the Democratic convention, which had been denounced as a war plank by anti-Humphrey Democrats a month before. In fact, many anti-war leaders and publicists were more than cool to the Salt Lake City speech. The *Progressive*—to cite only one example—commented in an editorial written soon after the speech: "Mr. Humphrey's announcement that he would stop the bombing of North Vietnam as an acceptable risk for peace was hedged with enough qualifications to make it possible for the White House to assure reporters that it amounted to no significant departure from Mr. Johnson's stated views. For once, it seems to us, the White House was right."

However, later responses in most liberal quarters were different. Whereas the anti-war leadership may have been trapped by its categorical moral pronouncements, the rank-and-file liberal, sobered since the convention by the realistic prospect of a Nixon victory, was eager to accept any justification for coming over to the Humphrey camp. The Salt Lake City speech provided just such an occasion. Public opinion polls showed that the Humphrey tide was running well before most liberal leaders joined the active campaign—and certainly well before Senator McCarthy conferred his faint praise on the ticket. By the time of the bombing pause itself, many dissident Democratic candidates found Humphrey to be a positive asset, and were pressing him to join them in local campaigning.

THREE ELEMENTS of the New Deal coalition, then, fell through for Humphrey: the South, the machines, and the liberal intellectuals. He was left with the integrationist Negro organizations and the trade unions—the two props of the old coalition which, we are so often told, are in somewhat advanced stages of inner atrophy. Yet it was these two groups, far more than any other force or event, that created Humphrey's near-miracle.

The American labor movement—both the AFL-

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CIO and the UAW—outdid itself in the 1968 election. Humphrey received about 60 per cent of the vote in blue-collar districts*; according to a telephone poll taken by the AFL-CIO just before the election, about 68 per cent of union cardholders voted the labor ticket. This was about the same as the labor vote for Kennedy in 1960, and under the circumstances—no really effective Democratic campaign was ever mounted, the pressures toward backlash voting were intense, a considerable section of the liberal middle class was suggesting there was no difference among the major candidates, the Democratic candidate came from a badly discredited administration—it was a remarkable and portentous achievement. The size of the labor vote testifies not only to the vigor of the labor organizations, but to the strength and durability of the politics of social class in America.

The most "respectable" accomplishment of the labor movement was its anti-Wallace campaign. The unions met Wallace head-on, their anti-Wallace propaganda bluntly stating the facts about the reactionary nature of Wallace's movement and the Alabama state government. This literature did not merely appeal to workers' economic interests—"crude" economic interests, as some would have it—it accused Wallace directly, in plain-spoken language, of racism and hate-mongering. In contrast to those opponents of the Wallace movement who seemed to attack Wallace for favoring law and order and sneered at the plebeian character of his movement, the labor attack was focused not on the concept of order itself, but on the kind of order Wallace wanted.

In September, polls showed that in some Northern states up to 30 per cent of union membership supported Wallace. By election day this had been cut to below 10 per cent. In the industrial states where Wallace made his deepest inroads into the Democratic vote—New Jersey and California—both the unions and the party organization have serious weaknesses. The gold-rush ethos of individualism and mobility is still such a powerful force in California that many workers are not organized into unions at all, while those workers who are organized are divided among three somewhat contentious camps—the AFL-CIO, the UAW, and the Harry Bridges Longshoremen. A similar rift exists in New Jersey, where not only the UAW but other former CIO unions have been unable to cooperate effectively with the state AFL-CIO. Internal divisions in the labor movement in these two states, compounded by the factionalization that has taken place in the party as a whole, left the Democratic rank and file more vulnerable to Wallace demagoguery. By contrast, in areas where labor was well organized and the rival wings of the labor movement were able to cooperate, Wallace was badly beaten.

IRONICALLY, at the same time the labor campaign against Wallace was proving to be the most effective of all efforts to counter the white racist backlash, the labor movement was being blamed by some for the very existence of the Wallace phenomenon. Murray Kempton described Wallace as the Presidential candidate whose style and personality were most suited to George Meany and the AFL-CIO. The New York *Times*, which has not in memory supported a strike, carried highly colored descriptions of how the Wallace movement was carrying off the UAW in whole pieces. The *Guardian*, a New Left weekly, printed a wistful description of the Wallace movement, suggesting that it might serve the SDS as a political bridge to the working class. (Given the predominant trends in the New Left, perhaps this ought not to be dismissed as mere muddle-headedness.) Yet labor confronted Wallace with relative success, and it is hard to think of anything done by liberals that bears comparison. In the period when Wallace's strength was at its peak, Senator McCarthy was on the Riviera; when he returned to politics his aim at Wallace lacked the certainty that had guided many of his shots at Johnson and Humphrey. McCarthy and his followers were firmly opposed to Wallace, but they seemed unable to come quite to grips with the kind of challenge he posed. As for the New Left, far from opposing Wallace with any effect, it sought only to bring about confrontations, as though its policy were "two, three, many George Wallaces."

There was a second aspect to the strategy followed by labor which will probably turn out to be even more significant than the anti-Wallace campaign for the future of the Democratic party. Labor intervened in an unprecedented and, from its own point of view, largely successful way in the decision-making of the Democratic party. This represented a major departure from the Gompers tradition of "reward your friends and punish your enemies," which held that the labor movement should be a non-partisan lobby and politically independent. The American Left has often bemoaned Gompersism, arguing that it leaves the political arena open to office-seekers who can be counted on to offer labor only the minimum necessary to win its support, but who will never go to battle for the basic needs of the working class. Interestingly enough, while in this election labor moved further from Gompersism than ever before, and closer to the role played by unions in most of the European social-democratic parties, the liberal and radical intelligentsia were, in general, hardly pleased.

Labor began an unorthodox year by plunging into the primary campaign of insurgent John

*A Gallup projection, released after this was written, indicated that a somewhat smaller percentage of the working-class vote went to Humphrey. But even if Gallup is correct, the difference would not be enough in itself to affect the conclusions drawn here.

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Gilligan against Senator Frank Lausche of Ohio. This was the first time that the national AFL-CIO had ever taken sides in a Democratic primary battle. Gilligan won largely because of the union effort. (By the time of the November election his relations with labor had cooled and he had altered his image to that of a McCarthy-Kennedy liberal. He lost the election to Saxbe, the Republican, quite possibly because of his unexpectedly low margins in such industrial areas as Cuyahoga County, Akron-Youngstown, and Cincinnati. Perhaps his first image was a sounder one.)

But labor's major political exertion was in the Presidential race. Upsetting another tradition, the AFL-CIO campaigned within the Democratic party, first for Johnson's renomination, then for Humphrey. The UAW also gave Humphrey assistance, although it withheld its formal endorsement until after the Democratic convention. Because Humphrey had virtually no campaign staff of his own until after the convention, the unions were crucial to him—the AFL-CIO offered assistance even before Humphrey announced he would run. A record number of union leaders—and, it should be said, Negroes too—were delegates to the Democratic convention. After the convention the unions became the main pillar of the Democratic campaign, in effect replacing the party organization in some of the worse-off states.

Finally, if the labor effort for Humphrey did not succeed in electing him, it did contribute decisively to the election of many Democratic congressmen, who would surely have lost had the national ticket been overwhelmed. Union leaders and knowledgable Democrats expected to lose between thirty and thirty-five liberal congressmen this year; the number was held to only four.

LIKE THE LABOR MOVEMENT, the responsible, integrationist Negro leadership also faced the threat of internal division in the election period—but in this case from the Left rather than from the Right. There was, first of all, the danger of mass violence—rioting, looting—that would inevitably provoke white reaction. Then there were the protest candidacies of Eldridge Cleaver and Dick Gregory, and an election boycott movement urged by militant groups in some politically important cities.

Yet there were no ghetto riots throughout the summer and fall. Many incidents of violence occurred involving black militants and the police, such as the gun duels in Cleveland and in Oakland. But the Negro community as a whole, perhaps sensing its stake in the election, could not be coaxed or provoked into even small-scale rioting. Its spontaneous self-discipline was a major factor in averting a far worse election disaster for liberalism.

The vote in Negro districts went to Humphrey by consistent margins of 80 and 90 per cent. There was a drop in Negro voting in some Northern areas, but it should not be assumed that this resulted from the election boycotts proposed by some black extremists. The Negro vote, like that of any low income group, will drop unless registration and get-out-the-vote drives are carried out in the black community. The lack of funds and other shortcomings of this year's Democratic campaign made this a difficult undertaking in some places. As it was, the turn-out of Northern Negroes might actually have been much smaller had there not been a new political force in the Negro community to step in where the Democratic party machinery defaulted: Negro trade unionists. Negro unionists have been organized before and in some areas have had considerable political impact—in Detroit, for example, where the Trade Union Leadership Council is a strong force. But never before have they been of themselves a major factor in Negro politics on a national scale. Negro unionists were brought together for this campaign at a series of six regional conferences organized by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, with the cooperation of both the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers. Each conference formed a committee, which in turn became a channel for funds and special materials for ghetto registration and get-out-the-vote drives. Although this development was not widely noticed, Norman Hill, associate director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, has observed that "Negro trade unionists were a prime organizing force, along with the NAACP, in registration and get-out the-vote campaigns in most key cities."

The pro-Humphrey sentiment in the Negro community was so strong that the two black candidates for President, Eldridge Cleaver and Dick Gregory, made dismal showings. In fact, in the later stages of their campaigns, both candidates seemed to be appealing more to middle-class dissidents in the white community than to angry blacks. Cleaver made a *cause célèbre* of his right to teach courses on race relations to predominantly white students at the University of California; Dick Gregory held a great many of his New York rallies in Washington Square Park. When the full returns become available, it should astonish no one if the two black radicals turn out to have drawn most of their votes from frustrated whites.

The failure of the Gregory and Cleaver candidacies was typical of left-wing campaigns at all levels. In fact, local candidates of the splinter parties generally did worse than their national counterparts—a fact which is of considerable significance in an election year in which one might have expected a substantial protest vote. That such a vote did not materialize is solid evidence that the New Left and its black counterpart have no following of numerical importance in any section of the population. These groups are effective only because of the relative sophistication and discipline of their cadres, because they employ threats, disruption, and occasionally violence to

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gain their ends, and because the mass media are always ready to give eager attention to their performances.

While the New Left and the black militants did not succeed in creating disorder in the black ghettos, they did have some impact in the academic community. Poor people and ghetto residents, mindful of the threat of conservatism and reaction, kept cool; some middle-class students, black and white, continued to indulge in mimetic revolutions and similar forms of political effrontery right up to election day. It may have been more an anti-New Left than an anti-Negro backlash that contributed to the Democratic defeat in California, both in the Presidential race and in the contests on which control of the state assembly depended. All three newly-elected Republican state assemblymen campaigned strongly against New Left disorders at Berkeley and San Francisco State. The surprise defeat of a statewide referendum proposal that would have authorized a 250 billion dollar education package—most of it for higher education—suggests that California voters had student radicalism very much on their minds.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL of the Democratic party has already resumed. Humphrey's unexpected showing has left him in a much stronger position to affect the party's future than many had surmised. Thus, an early attempt by the Kennedy-McCarthy wing to propose one of its allies for the chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee was promptly rebuffed. Struggles like this at the top of the hierarchy are reflections of the underlying antagonisms among the major constituents of the party: the unions, the Negroes, and the various middle-class groups. The unions, as might be expected, feel a new political confidence; the election results, despite defeat, were a powerful demonstration of the political effectiveness and liberal character of the labor movement. The unions are not likely to remain neutral while various political groups struggle for control of party offices. So far, the AFL-CIO is supporting the Humphrey-Muskie wing of the party, and it would not be too great a surprise if Walter Reuther at least maintains his neutrality.

The mainstream Negro organizations are also certain to be a larger force in Democratic politics. The NAACP has already launched a new offensive against its separatist rivals. The November issue of the *Crisis*, the official NAACP publication, carries a forthright attack on "extremists who are shrilly and insistently espousing apartheid, racism, including anti-Semitism, intimidation, and violence." The vigor of this counterattack is certainly in part traceable to the vote of confidence in the ideals of integration and democratic social change that is implicit in the election returns from black communities. At the same time, Negro moderates are pressing their struggle against Southern white supremacists within the Democratic party. The National Democratic party of Alabama, a predominantly Negro split-off from the Wallace organization, has begun a campaign to expel six Alabama Democrats—five congressmen and a senator—from the national Democratic party on grounds that they supported Wallace rather than the party nominee. Should this campaign succeed it would strip the legislators in question of their party seniority and, consequently, of whichever powerful congressional committee assignments they may now hold. The Mississippi Loyal Democrats and the Georgia Loyal Democrats, counterparts to the Alabama National Democrats in their respective states, may make similar attempts to undercut the strength of the Dixiecrats. If they succeed they will greatly weaken the conservative South in national Democratic politics, and strengthen the influence of Negroes.

Negroes and other minorities are also certain to make the most of the recently enacted structural and procedural reforms in the Democratic party—changes which went almost unnoticed in the factionalism and violence of the Chicago convention. The abolition of the unit rule will free Southern parties from the tight control of the Bourbon bosses. The requirement that party functions be open to all who wish to participate will encourage Negro involvement, and drive the racists into the Republican party or the Wallace movement. The Democratic National Committee has already activated two special commissions to see that the new rules are observed, and to insure that all party members have a voice in the selection of state delegates to the next national convention.

But while the Negroes and the unions are now in an excellent position from which to influence the reconstruction of the Democratic party, they do not possess sufficient power in themselves to rebuild a solid majority party. The Southern regulars—never desirable allies—are now open enemies. The machines are politically unreliable, and in any case are losing their clout. The only other potential allies that remain are among the middle-class liberals.

The Vietnam war has been the immediate issue over which the "conscience" wing and the "class" wing of the Democratic party have fallen out. Yet, ultimately, Vietnam was less of an issue in the election than might have been expected. While there may have been massive discontent about the war in the electorate, there was no ready majority for any alternative policy that was not directed toward a negotiated settlement. It is unlikely that any candidate in this election—including McCarthy and Governor Reagan, had either been nominated—would have campaigned on a platform of simple, one-sided solutions to the war such as unilateral withdrawal or massive escalation. Debate was limited to alternative strategies for bringing about negotiations. Indeed, as

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far back as March, when President Johnson called a partial bombing halt, it was clear that no significant group of Democrats would advocate escalation as the route to negotiations. The only issue was how much deescalation, when, and under what conditions. In itself, of course, this was a serious question, one which might have been expected to set off passionate debate and hard-fought organizational battles. But it is difficult to believe that this issue alone could have divided the Democratic coalition so profoundly that the arch-enemy, Richard Nixon, was almost assured victory. No; the roots of division lie deeper.

The American intelligentsia has grown enormously in the last two decades, and has assumed a most important part in our economic and social life. The political representatives of this new stratum, running the gamut from SDS to John Kenneth Galbraith, see themselves more as replacements of the labor movement than as allies with labor in a vigorous and radical coalition for social change. They believe that the unions have become stagnated, concerned with meaningless increments of economic progress, and soon fated to extinction through the process of automation. They belittle the bread-and-butter politics of the New Deal coalition, and regard issues dealing with the moral quality of life, aesthetic needs, and foreign policy as having the utmost importance.

There are, on the other hand, those in the unions who look on the intellectuals as just another, more exotic variety of the middle-class enemy. They refuse to concede that the intelligentsia has grown in size, or that its influence is large in all sectors of the population. Their positions on many foreign policy issues, while rarely so diabolical as some critics have made them out to be, do not take into account the demonstrated fact that détente with the Communist powers and social reform in the developing world obstructs totalitarian expansion more effectively than American militarism and the often reactionary forces with which it has become allied. (The position taken by most unions on Vietnam has been decidedly hawkish, although it should be said that the defeatism which has characterized so much of the peace movement probably contributed to this posture. The AFL-CIO bluntly opposed any explicit call for a bombing halt in the Democratic platform, yet later in his campaign their candidate endorsed the idea. Had Humhprey been able to do this at the convention he might not have won over the more avid anti-war delegates, but he would have gained enough support to have made a difference. In typical fashion the proponents of the minority "peace plank" tied their demand for a bombing halt to their proposal for the direct establishment of a coalition government that would include the Vietcong. This guaranteed that the entire peace plank would be defeated. Unfortunately, a third proposal, offered by the Negotiation Now! Campaign, was dismissed by both labor and the McCarthy faction. Each side considered the Negotiation Now! proposal [the Kerr Amendment], which called for both a bombing halt and internationally supervised free elections, to be the other side's program in disguise.)

CAN THESE TWO GROUPS, the "conscience" wing and the "class" wing, be brought together? Progress in that direction, though not altogether impossible, will undoubtedly be slow and hesitant. There will be a temptation for each to blame the other for the Democratic defeat. The Republicans will surely look for issues that can keep the Democratic coalition in turmoil. (They have already won over some intellectuals and Negro militants to their "black capitalism" scheme, which would consign the problems of the ghetto to the care of private business, with tax rebates and other profitable devices as incentives.) And Nixon's "hard" views on dealing with the Soviet Union—and domestic disorders—are sure to have appeal to some elements in the labor movement.

But the Nixon administration may also offer new opportunities for alliance between the "conscience" and the "class" movements for social change. When the Vietnam war ends, as it surely will end by 1972, domestic issues will again become the focus of political conflict. The liberal intellectuals will then either have to reunite with the labor movement and the mass-based Negro organizations, or dwindle away as a political force of any consequence. Nixon has co-opted the private-enterprise solution to the problems of the ghetto, parts of which were first conceived by Robert Kennedy's brain-trusters and tested in the Bedford-Stuyvesant Service and Development Corporation. This leaves little ground for middle-class progressives to occupy between the concept of massive, federally-directed public spending, supported by the labor movement and the large Negro organizations, and the pro-business approach of the Nixon administration. The unions may find that Nixon's hawkish defense policies go too far beyond even *their* sense of what is needed. This will be especially the case if, as is quite possible, Nixon should use the defense budget to subsidize giant corporations while denying federal funds for obvious domestic needs.

Finally, the liberal coalition may find sources of renewal in the demonstrated fact that the grip of the old South and the urban machines on the national Democratic party has now been greatly weakened. In the past, the labor movement and the Negro moderates have been fearful of antagonizing these two forces, for they regarded them as necessary, if distasteful, allies in the political fight against Republicanism. Now the old South is probably at permanent odds with the national Democratic party, the machines have been shown up as debilitated and unreliable allies, and labor

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and the Negro have proved that they can do almost as well by themselves as the old Democratic party apparatus used to do in their presumable behalf. This should allow the Negro-labor bloc to be more flexible in dealing with the kinds of issues that most concern liberals.

It is unlikely, no matter how strong the pressures of the Republican administration, that such diverse groups as the Negro, labor, and the liberal will ever unite in real fraternal embrace. Each group will always have its complaints against the others. But it should be possible to fight out those differences with the understanding that the fight will not be permitted to undermine the party to the point where conservative forces could prevail.

If a coalition of this kind can be established, it will represent a new hope for America as well as for the Democratic party. Unlike the old coalition of New Dealers and slave dealers, of popular movements and political machines, it will give the country, for the first time, a majority party uncompromised by ties to conservative or racist interests. Such a party would possess the greatest possible asset in the struggle to turn back the drift to the Right: the capacity to put forward a sound and complete program for democratic social change. As the 1968 election demonstrated, such a party could, with internal unity and a fresh start, regain the White House in the national election of 1972.

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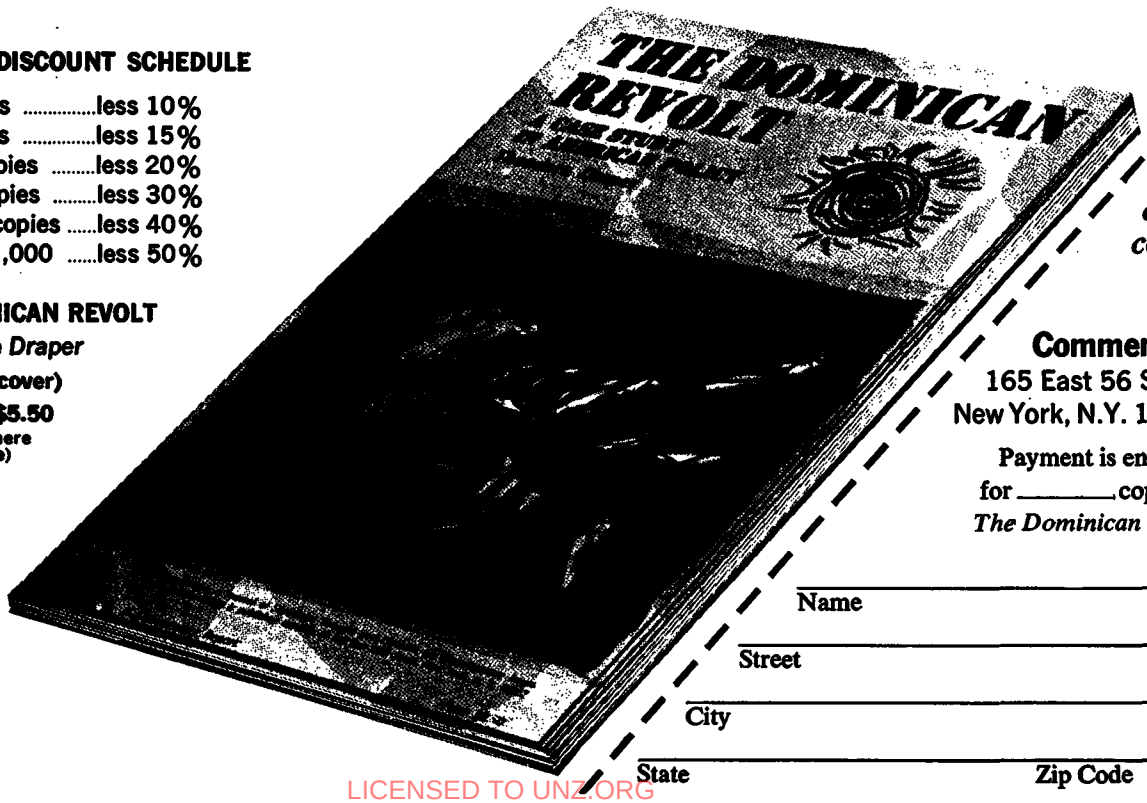

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The New York School Crisis

Maurice J. Goldbloom

"THE AXE," SIR WALTER RALEIGH told his executioner, "is a sharp medicine but a sure cure for all ills." A good many people seem ready to resort to Sir Walter's prescription to remedy the ills of New York's schools. One may admit that the schools are sick and still doubt the wisdom of this particular treatment.

And there can be no question that the schools *are* sick, or that they have failed to give a satisfactory education to a large part of the Negro and Puerto Rican population. Contrary to a widespread belief, however, the disease from which they suffer is neither new, nor peculiar to New York, nor the result of a sudden and catastrophic deterioration of the system. In the words of one school official: "We never really did succeed in educating the other side of the tracks." Neither the Irish, nor the Italians, nor the Slavs found the road to education an easy one; in the periods of major immigration they remained to a large extent functional illiterates. In the absence of compulsory education and child labor laws, few of them completed elementary school, but the failure to teach them was masked by their early leaving of the schools.

A basic reason for this problem is that the immigrant groups in question came—as many of today's Negro and Puerto Rican migrants also come—primarily from rural areas organized on a semi-feudal pattern. For such groups adjustment to the disciplines of urban society has often been a matter of decades. The difficulties of that adjustment are reflected not only in the schools but in the crime statistics and the welfare (in the 19th century, charity) rolls.

Not all immigrants have shared these problems; the two exceptions most frequently cited are the Jews and the Chinese. Both groups adjusted with relative, but only relative, ease to the conditions of American city life, largely because they had centuries of urbanization behind them. As to the independent yeomen who left the farms of the Northeast and Midwest to flock to the cities, they had only minor problems of acculturation; they were already highly literate.

To say that the problem is not a new one, and that it has not been solved in the past, is not to say that it is unimportant or that we are not bound to seek solutions today. Both in terms of the accepted goals of society and the realities of the economy, the problem has a degree of urgency which it did not possess a century or even a generation ago. Not only is society today unwilling to accept as the natural order of things a situation in which a large section of the population is debarred from the opportunity to fit itself for anything except unskilled labor, but the opportunity for unskilled employment is itself rapidly vanishing. If we fail to give at least a basic education to our entire population, the victims of our failure will to an increasing extent be doomed to remain outside the economic process except as subsidized consumers—a condition, moreover, they will no longer passively accept.

Yet to recognize that a problem must be solved is not automatically to solve it. Whatever enthusiasts for the idea of community control may think, the failure of the New York school system—which is, by the way, less abysmal than that of most other school systems throughout the country—is more to be blamed on a lack of skill than on a lack of will. It is also, and perhaps mostly, to be blamed on a lack of money. There have always been techniques for increasing the effectiveness of education which have been neglected because they required more money than the city was able to pay. Nor has it been merely the teachers and supervisors who were deficient in skill; nobody, least of all the teachers' colleges, has offered definitive answers to the question of how children from "the other side of the tracks" can be adequately educated.

The teachers' colleges have nevertheless insisted that anyone who wants to teach must spend at least a year absorbing the non-answers available in education courses. This is certainly one of the factors which has made it increasingly difficult to recruit good teachers, although it is not of course the only one. Teaching often involves a degree of nervous strain which many people simply cannot face. Its material rewards are also limited; despite the substantial salary increases the United Feder-

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ation of Teachers has won in recent years, New York City still starts its teachers at a considerably lower wage than its police and firemen.

But even if the school system were suddenly overwhelmed with highly qualified applicants, as it was in the early 30's, its main problems would persist. Indeed, despite the real difficulty in getting good teachers—or any teachers—the New York schools are today substantially better in terms of most indices than they were three decades ago. Average class size, for example, has fallen in the high schools by about a fourth since the 30's, and a similar decline has taken place in junior high and elementary schools. Average class size now ranges from 21.6 in kindergarten to 28.4 in "special service" junior high and intermediate schools—those in disadvantaged areas—and 30.1 in schools on that level elsewhere in the city.

The decline in class size, however, does not seem to have significantly improved the educational record of the elementary and junior high schools. In the Negro and Puerto Rican ghettos, the typical student is below the national reading norm from the first grade on; the median reading score in ghetto schools at the end of the ninth grade is two to three years behind the national average. Critics of the schools note that the scores fall further behind the norm as the student progresses through the grades. This is misleading: The *rate* of retardation is fairly constant. It should also be noted that the degree of retardation is lower in New York than for the same groups elsewhere in the country, especially in the South. Thus at every grade level there is a new infusion of children with even poorer educational backgrounds than those of the pupils already there (about a fourth of all junior high school graduates have migrated to the city at some time during their school career). Apart from the almost inevitably deleterious effect this has on the educational process itself, it pulls down the median score.

If the record is not quite as bad as it seems at first glance, it is still bad enough to show that drastic improvement is needed. And the variations that exist among schools indicate that such improvement is in fact possible by the use of techniques already available within the school system. Sometimes, to be sure, the differences can only be attributed to intangibles such as the enthusiasm that exceptional principals and teachers are able to inspire. But in many instances they are directly correlated with specific programs.

The intangible factors of enthusiasm and talent afford a basis for hope but not a technique for realizing it. The recruitment of better teachers and supervisors is obviously desirable, but it scarcely offers a panacea at a time when the nationwide shortage of teachers has everywhere forced a sharp downgrading of standards. The New York school system, like most others throughout the country, is so desperately in need of teachers that it is ready to accept almost anyone who has taken the required education courses without fatal consequences. This does not mean that the quality of the teaching staff cannot be improved; I believe it can, and substantially. But doing so will require a drastic reduction—pehaps even the elimination—of the present education course requirements for teaching positions and the substitution of in-service teacher training.

The obstacles in the way of such a revision are enormous. Some of them are within the school system; the natural resistance of any bureaucracy to radical innovation is reinforced by the tendency of those who have invested years in the taking of education courses to protect the value of their investment. Even more formidable, however, is the opposition of the schools of education, whose domination of the educational scene would be undermined and whose very existence might in some cases be threatened by the sort of change that is needed. Under their influence the trend in recent years has, in fact, been toward making completion of the required courses the sole basis of appointment, to the exclusion of any actual test of knowledge or ability. (This is the meaning of the oft-repeated emphasis on "state certification," which is in New York a purely formal process based on the courses one has taken, and the demands for abolition of the Board of Examiners.) The course requirements have narrowed the field of available candidates for teaching positions to such an extent that examinations must be so framed as to minimize the possibility that any of the applicants will fail. This contrasts sharply with the situation in the 30's. Then, the excess of applicants over jobs was so great that examinations were used less to test the qualifications of applicants than simply to eliminate enough of them to produce eligible lists of manageable proportions. Those who passed were usually well-qualified; so were many of those who failed.

Techniques are something else again. There are new and old procedures which help at least some pupils to learn reading and arithmetic. These can be extended with comparative ease; they threaten no entrenched interests. Few work equally well with all pupils, and many require specially trained personnel. Some also are questionable on other grounds; the authoritarian use of rote-learning procedures, for example, may produce improved reading and arithmetic scores in some cases, but at the cost of damage to the child.

Two techniques have, however, scored outstanding results. The first of these is the More Effective Schools program (MES), sponsored by the United Federation of Teachers and a major issue in its 1967 strike. This program is based on the use of a whole battery of remedial services in particular schools in ghetto areas; the ratio of

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pupils to staff is approximately 12 to 1 as compared to a citywide ratio of about 16 to 1. MES has not been uniformly successful; there are great variations among the test scores achieved by different MES schools. Nevertheless, when school-by-school reading test scores were made public two years ago, for the second and fifth grades, 30 per cent of the groups tested in MES schools scored at or above the norm; another 10 per cent showed a retardation of only one month.* Almost no other ghetto schools achieved comparable results, and the average retardation for the MES groups was well under half that for ghetto schools as a whole. But it is also true that about two-fifths of the MES groups showed no significant gain. In the opinion of some teachers in the program this reflected the fact that they had received no training in the methods it required. Even here, however, there were intangible benefits; the children enjoyed school even if they learned no more.

Another technical experiment which has produced really spectacular results is the Responsive Environment, better known as the "talking typewriter." This is a computerized typewriter equipped with a loudspeaker and viewing screen. Initially, a letter appears on the screen and is pronounced by the loudspeaker when the appropriate key is hit. Later, it can be programmed for words and even sentences. Under a grant from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity a center with twenty talking typewriters was established in the Brownsville area of Brooklyn under the direction of Dr. Benjamin L. Israel. In the first year, staying open until 9 P.M., the center was able to serve some 650 persons, ranging from pre-kindergarten children to functionally illiterate adults. Notable progress was made on all levels. Pre-kindergarten and kindergarten children learned enough in approximately ten minutes a day to surpass by far normal first-grade reading levels; first-graders reached the second-grade norm. Eighth-grade pupils with severe reading problems improved their scores by an average of 1.4 years in about the same amount of time, divided into fewer but longer sessions .

Full utilization of the present twenty machines —six days and evenings a week—would permit them to serve about a thousand persons. But because the OEO, which had allotted $440,000 for the operation of the center in the first year, sharply cut its grant this year, the center is now operating only during the school day, and only about half as many persons as last year can make use of it.

MES and the "talking typewriter" have a number of things in common. Both demonstrably work, in terms of specific results as well as in terms of an improved educational atmosphere. Neither represents any threat to anybody. But both are expensive. MES costs about 50 per cent more per child than the present average expenditure, or $400 to $500 more a year. To extend the program to all the schools which need it would increase the school budget by about a fourth, or $300,000,000 a year. Since smaller class sizes and more services require more room, there would also be substantial capital costs. Similarly with the Responsive Environment Program; to make it available to all the half-million students in the New York school system who are currently reading behind grade would require an operating budget which might reach $300,000,000, in addition to the expenditure of up to $400,000,000 for the purchase of ten thousand machines.

Now, programs requiring large expenditures are not politically popular, unless they offer opportunities for patronage of one sort or another. The New York City Board of Education has no taxing power of its own: It depends on city appropriations and state aid. Each year the mayor and the governor seek to maneuver each other into supplying the bulk of the new money that the school system requires and shouldering the blame for the inadequacy of the amount eventually doled out. It is a game the school system seldom wins. The result is that there is seldom enough money to finance any really major innovation; what is available is dribbled away in small-scale experiments which cannot be followed up even if they succeed.

THE PRESENCE OF MAJOR and pressing problems and the lack of adequate funds to deal with them produces a situation made to order for gimmickry. The basic requirement is that whatever is proposed should be, or should appear to be, cheap. It should also offer sufficient novelty to divert from the heads of those in power the wrath of groups who have reason to resent the status quo.

One such gimmick, a few years back, was the legislative removal of the entire Board of Education and the establishment of a selection panel to nominate members of a new board. In one sense it worked beautifully; the new board appointed by Mayor Robert Wagner from among those suggested by the panel was as good a Board of Education as New York City has ever had. Unfortunately, it was given neither the means nor the authority to change very much. And some of the problems which it faced could not really be solved within the framework of the school system—the problem of integration, for example.

New York's school system had never, of course, been legally segregated. But there had long been many schools with completely black student bodies, and the number was increasing rapidly as Negro immigration into the city skyrocketed while whites left for the suburbs or sent their children to private and parochial schools. (There was a corresponding decline in the number of all-white schools as the ghetto burst its boundaries.) This *de facto* segregation was the result of resi-

* Since this was written, the 1968 reading scores have been published, showing more than half the MES at or above grade levels.

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dential patterns. To fight it effectively would have required the scattering of public housing throughout the city and suburbs, as well as the rehabilitation of existing ghetto areas. It would have required the cooperation of federal, city, state, and perhaps neighboring local governments. It would have been expensive, and it would have infringed on important vested interests. It did not happen.

Instead, there were gimmicks. Some were obviously bound to fail. Thus in most cases one could almost guarantee that the "instant integration" resulting from the building of a new school on the boundary between black and white areas would quickly evaporate as the ethnic frontier shifted. Other gimmicks offered more chance of real integration in specific, if limited, situations. There were a number of places where pairing seemed capable of working for a while. But in most of these, local opposition arose and the plans were dropped. Educational parks offered some promise in a few localities, although there were relatively few suitable sites in the city. One which did exist was in Canarsie; it could have served large sections of Brownsville and East New York. But the business-oriented Lindsay administration preferred to use the site for an industrial park, and the opportunity for school integration in that area was lost.

Another gimmick, originating with the Board of Education, provided for replacement of the existing pattern of six-year elementary schools followed by three years of junior high school and three of senior high school. In its stead there were to be four years each of elementary, intermediate, and high schools. But since the existing junior high school buildings were inadequate for four grades, there was to be an interim 5-3-4 pattern. The theory was that students would be attending high schools, which had the greatest degree of integration of any section of the school system, a year earlier. At the same time it would be possible to develop feeder patterns for the new intermediate schools which would increase the degree of integration on that level.

It was a plan which had one great advantage: It was cheap. It did not, however, provide any significant integration on the intermediate school level. The new intermediate schools continued to draw the same students as the old junior highs, but a year earlier. Or rather, they would have done so if the change had actually taken place. For in fact only 3 four-year and 42 three-year intermediate schools have come into being, while there are still 96 junior high schools.

SINCE THE NEW SYSTEM had been heralded as a royal road to integration, its failure to provide any integration naturally produced a good deal of frustration and resentment. One place where these feelings erupted was the new Intermediate School 201 in Harlem. In the face of protests from many elements of the community, the school had been built at Madison Avenue and 126th Street, on the border between Harlem proper and predominantly Puerto Rican East Harlem, but too far north to attract any significant number of non-Puerto Rican whites. (Integration has never been a major Puerto Rican concern, since most Puerto Ricans see their problems of adjustment as more linguistic and cultural than ethnic.)

A small group, not all of whom lived in Harlem and a number of whom were on the staff of the anti-poverty agency MEND, endeavored to channel the discontent over the choice of a site for IS 201 into a demand for a black principal. A boycott sponsored by these groups led to the setting up of a Planning Board—dominated by some of the same people who had instituted the boycott—to work out a proposal for a more or less autonomous district consisting of IS 201 and its feeder schools. While the group did not to begin with have the support of many sections of the community, overt opposition later died down. According to some parents and teachers, this was the result partly of outright intimidation and partly of the use of patronage.

The major source of this patronage was a grant from the Ford Foundation in July 1967, which was announced together with similar grants to Planning Boards for two other proposed demonstration districts, Ocean Hill-Brownsville in Brooklyn and Two Bridges on the lower East Side of Manhattan. In none of these three areas had there been advance consultation with the local parents associations of the schools to be included. In Ocean Hill-Brownsville a Planning Board had emerged from the local supporters of the "Peoples' Board of Education" established by the Rev. Milton Galamison (later appointed to the central Board of Education by Mayor Lindsay). In Two Bridges, the initiative came from staff members of a local anti-poverty group who had approached the Ford Foundation for a different grant, and then asked for a grant to assist in the establishment of a demonstration school district when they learned that the Foundation was now interested in education rather than the sort of project they had originally had in mind. Although the formation of the Two Bridges district was—and still is—opposed by the parents associations of the schools included in it, the anti-poverty group received the grant and recognition from the city.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the sharp differences within the Two Bridges Local Governing Board itself and the widespread opposition to the Board within the community, the district's history has not been marked by the spectacular clashes which have characterized the IS 201 and Ocean Hill-Brownsville districts. Two Bridges is the most ethnically varied of the three districts; the two largest groups are Chinese and Puerto Rican, and there are smaller numbers of Negroes

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as well as remnants of the various groups of European origin who were formerly predominant in the area. In contrast, both of the other demonstration districts have Negro majorities, Puerto Rican minorities, and only scattered members of other ethnic groups.

ALTHOUGH the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district eventually became the focus of a struggle which has disrupted not only the school system but the city itself, it initially seemed to have the best prospects for success. The original Planning Board had the support of the United Federation of Teachers, and teacher representatives helped to draw up the original proposals for the demonstration district. JHS 271, the key school in the district, had an unusually able principal, Dr. Jack Bloomfield. In the three years he had headed it, the school had established close ties with the community and had made substantial academic progress. Students' reading scores had improved by 3 years and 2 months and their vocabulary scores by 3 years and 7 months in a period of 2 years and 10 months. Whereas only 5 per cent had passed the algebra regents in 1965, 62 per cent passed it in 1967—10 per cent better than the citywide average. The school's magazine and newspapers had received Columbia University scholastic press awards. The school also won first prize in the Mayor's Salute to Youth for its internship program, under which students were trained for leadership in adult organizations.

The cooperative relationship which had hitherto existed between 271 and the community, however, rapidly evaporated after the Ford Foundation grant to the district. The grant was made to Father John Powis, a white Roman Catholic priest. It was Father Powis who took the lead in setting up the Planning Board, but he seems not to have waited for it to be fully constituted before taking action on its behalf. When the newly elected teacher representatives joined the Planning Board on June 29, they were told by Father Powis that Rhody McCoy had been selected as Unit Administrator.

There were other signs of rapid change as well. In June, Mrs. Elaine Rooke, as president of the Parents Association, had written in the 271 school magazine: "The teachers of the school have certainly shown you how much they too feel that you are special. . . . We have worked closely and harmoniously toward keeping Coleman Junior High School [271] among the top schools that New York City has ever had." In July, as a member of the Planning Board, the same Mrs. Rooke was denouncing the school in a television interview. (Although she had moved out of the district a year earlier and no longer had any children in 271 after June 1967, Mrs. Rooke served as its "parent representative" on the Planning Board and is still serving in that capacity on the Local Governing Board.)

Meanwhile, the Planning Board appears to have called meetings without notifying its teacher members; at one of these it was decided to hold a community-wide election to choose "parent representatives" from each school to serve on the Governing Board of the experimental district. This was contrary to the understanding the teachers thought they had with Father Powis, under which the parents and teachers of the individual schools would be permitted to vote in September as to whether they wished to participate in the project; only after that had they expected a community-wide election to be held.

The election was as much a surprise to the Board of Education as it was to the teachers. The Board of Education's Advisory Committee on Decentralization, headed by President John Niemeyer of the Bank Street College of Education, reported: "Movement was pushed as rapidly as possible toward local election of Project Boards, loosely defined both as to composition and function, for local special school districts equally vaguely conceived. *In the case of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration Project the administration and the Board of Education suddenly were confronted early in August 1967 with the fact that an election was in full swing* [emphasis mine—M.J.G.]. No guidelines or stipulations concerning legitimacy of procedure had been laid down by the Board of Education and none were expected by the local planning council. The Board of Education expected that ensuing action would await the full approval by the Board of a plan for each local project; the local representatives had no intention of waiting for such a procedure to occur, but moved to establish themselves in power."

This contrasts sharply with the account given by Richard Karp, in an article in *Interplay* (August-September 1968). Karp writes as though the Planning Board had made a long and unsuccessful effort to secure Board of Education cooperation in holding an election, was unable to collect the addresses of students, and then "got sympathetic teachers to canvass students for their addresses. Then, by going from door to door, they finally got 2,000 parents registered by August." One wonders how during the summer, *when there were no students in school,* "sympathetic teachers" could "canvass students for their addresses." Did they perhaps visit them at their homes and *then* ask them where they lived? As it happens, we know in at least one case how the Planning Board really got the addresses; those of the two thousand children at 271 were given them by the principal, Dr. Bloomfield, with the approval of the Board of Education!

THE ENSUING ELECTION ITSELF was conducted by a staff which was paid by the Planning Board with Ford Foundation funds. To get out the vote they made use of canvassing and sound trucks.

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Nevertheless, only about 22 per cent of those eligible voted. Some supporters of the Governing Board have made the demonstrably false assertion that this was higher than the number who had ever voted in local elections; the usual turnout in local elections is over 70 per cent. Interestingly, those paid to get out the vote were also candidates for the Governing Board. Not surprisingly, they turned out to be the successful candidates. No formal procedures for the election or qualifications for candidates were set by the Planning Board, which also took charge of counting the vote. One result was that the "parent representatives" elected to the Governing Board from two of the schools in the district neither had children in them nor lived in the district. This did not prevent them from participating with the other "parent representatives" in the choice of "community representatives" to sit on the Board.

One wonders what theory of democratic representation, if any, can lie behind the assertion later made by Jason Epstein in the *New York Review* that a board so elected and constituted not only represents the community "but in a curious way embodies it." The election itself was subsequently challenged in court, and approximately twice as many parents as had voted in the original election petitioned for a new one. Perhaps "in a curious way" they felt disembodied. (A public opinion poll taken in the district in the spring of 1968 showed that 29 per cent of the parents supported the Governing Board and that 24 per cent supported the teachers, while the rest were not sure where they stood. A third of those polled felt that they would get into trouble by taking a stand against the Board.) In any event, no new election was ever held; the Board's term of office is undefined.

In addition to choosing the "community representatives," the "parent representatives" also tried to induce the teachers who had been elected to the original Planning Board to consider themselves as "teacher representatives" on the Governing Board. The teachers, on the other hand, claimed that they had no mandate and therefore could not vote on the Governing Board. They nevertheless attended meetings—or, to be more exact, those meetings to which they were invited. Although they were placed under great pressure to vote when they were present and sometimes yielded, their participation in discussions was discouraged by denunciations and charges of sabotage when they offered criticisms or raised questions. (The UFT later adopted a general position opposed to teacher membership on local governing boards on the ground that it could involve a conflict of interest.)

After the election, the Governing Board hastened to ratify the nomination of Rhody McCoy as Unit Administrator; this was accepted by the Board of Education. It also proposed the names of five principals to fill vacancies at four existing schools and one, Intermediate School 55, which was still under construction. None of those proposed was on the existing civil-service list for principals, a fact which subsequently gave rise to a court challenge to their appointment.* The five did meet state certification standards; this simply means that they had some teaching experience and had taken certain courses.

No personal objections were raised against four of them; they were unknown. One—the first to be named—was very well known, however. Herman Ferguson, proposed as principal of the new IS 55, had been suspended from his job as an assistant principal after being indicted on a charge of conspiring to murder Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, and others. (He has subsequently been convicted and is now appealing the conviction.) He had distinguished himself by charging that the school at which he had previously been employed—an MES school whose students had reading scores substantially above the normal grade level—with "educational genocide." Ferguson was not only nominated as a principal but worked with McCoy in drawing up plans for the district and interviewing possible appointees.

The Board of Education accepted the other principals nominated, but never approved Ferguson. He was nevertheless kept by the local board as "Principal of Record" for some months. (During the same period he also served as a paid consultant to the IS 201 Local Governing Board, which dropped him only when it became clear that the Board would get neither official recognition nor further Ford Foundation money as long as Ferguson remained.) Ferguson's role certainly did not contribute to the development of a climate of confidence, nor can Mr. McCoy and the Ocean-Hill Brownsville Governing Board have expected that it would.

THE 1967-68 SCHOOL YEAR opened with a teachers' strike. For months the UFT had made it clear that in the absence of a satisfactory offer on salaries and, more important, on the extension of the More Effective Schools Program, it would have to go out. (A good deal of nonsense has been written about this strike by anti-union propagandists. For example, a pamphlet published by the New York Civil Liberties Union and purporting to be a factual account of the controversy† assets that "the Local Governing

* On March 4, 1968, Justice Rinaldi of the New York Supreme Court ruled that the appointments were illegal. His decision was upheld by the Appellate Division on November 15, 1968.

† This pamphlet manages to compress an astounding number of misstatements and misrepresentations into a relatively short compass. I have analyzed some, though by no means all, of these in some detail in "A Critique of the New York Civil Liberties Union Report on the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Controversy," available from the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend the Right to Teach.

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Board perceived the strike as a show of power aimed against Ocean Hill-Brownsville and specifically in relation to its hiring of the 5 principals." If the Local Governing Board *had* perceived the strike that way, it would have been a clear sign either of ignorance or hopeless paranoia. In fairness to the Governing Board, I have seen no statement from anyone connected with it which would justify the NYCLU's assertion.) A settlement on economic issues was quickly arrived at, but the strike continued for some days because of the union's demand for improvements in the quality of ghetto schools.

The strike was thus essentially one *for* the interests of the black and Puerto Rican communities, and the teachers hoped for their support. But it was presented by the mayor, with the unstinting aid of the news media, as a strike *against* those communities, since theirs were a majority of the children unable to attend school. (In a number of areas, especially underprivileged ones, union teachers working without pay conducted emergency schools in settlement houses, churches, etc. This was also done in the 1968 strike. The number of students attending these emergency schools was only a fraction of the normal school enrolment, although it appears to have been substantially above the attendance at those public schools which were nominally "open.") The same anti-union point of view was also pushed by various "militant" and "black power" organizations, as well as by the city anti-poverty machinery, in which leaders of such groups had important positions.

The teacher members of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Planning Board asked the new Governing Board to support the 1967 strike on the ground that it was primarily aimed at securing improvements in ghetto schools. The Governing Board not only refused but attempted, with little success, to recruit parent help in an effort to break it. In this it had the cooperation of Robert "Sonny" Carson, head of Brooklyn CORE (who later left national CORE after its convention had refused to adopt various resolutions he was backing, including one for all-black schools in the ghettos and another for the establishment of a separate black nation in certain parts of the United States). Carson and his friends tried to intimidate striking teachers; he warned them against attempting to return to the district after the strike ended. Under the circumstances, it was only the efforts of the United Federation of Teachers to persuade its members to return after the strike that made it possible to staff the district's schools.

Tensions never disappeared in the district, but for a while they seemed to die down. In some schools excellent working relationships developed between the teachers and the acting principals nominated by the Governing Board and approved by the Board of Education. Meanwhile, negotiations on the setting up of the demonstration district were going on between the Local Governing Board, which as yet had no recognized legal status, and the Board of Education.

THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL agreed on by the Planning Board had been modified during the summer without the participation of the Board's teacher members and was submitted to the Board of Education on August 29. One major change was the elimination of a section providing that the elementary schools in the district be brought under the MES program. It is not certain who was responsible for the change, but it did bring the proposal into line with the position of Superintendent of Schools Bernard Donovan that the experimental districts should receive no better financial treatment than other comparable areas. Donovan argued that if they received favored treatment the results achieved would not be a test of the value of decentralization. (In fact, however, Ocean Hill-Brownsville has received a considerably higher per capita allowance than other comparable areas, though it has no MES program.)

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville Governing Board and its defenders have maintained that it was unable to function because the Board of Education refused to clarify its powers. The implication in such accounts as the NYCLU report and Richard Karp's article in *Interplay* (as well as in the articles of those like Murray Kempton and Jason Epstein who have been content with the Governing Board's version of the facts at every point) is that the Ocean Hill Board was desperately attempting to get the Board of Education to define what it might and might not do, while the latter refused to give it a hint. According to this version, all the subsequent troubles originated from a confusion which the central Board had deliberately created and could have dispelled at any time.

What actually happened was rather different. The Ocean Hill Board submitted its proposal on August 29—*after* it had installed Rhody McCoy as Unit Administrator, conducted elections without consulting the central Board, and nominated Herman Ferguson and four others as principals. The proposal was received by the Board of Education on September 1, and *on the same day* representatives of the central Board conferred with Mr. McCoy on the questions involved. This was the first of some twenty such conferences which took place before the Board of Education finally, in February 1968, issued guidelines (drawn up by the Niemeyer Committee) for the decentralized districts.

These meetings were held in an effort to reach agreement between the Board of Education and the Local Governing Board. The problem was not that the Board of Education was unwilling to clarify the powers of the Governing Board; it was that the latter was unwilling to accept the clarifi-

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cation. It continued to demand that the Board of Education transfer powers to it which the latter had no legal right to transfer and in certain cases did not even possess. (For instance, one of the things the Local Board wanted was the right to maintain its own bank accounts and draw its own checks; all Board of Education funds are in city bank accounts administered by the Comptroller, who pays out money against Board of Education vouchers.) It is worth noting, however, that one of the things the Governing Board did *not* ask for, and which was therefore never an issue, was the right unilaterally to transfer teachers out of the district or to dismiss them without a hearing.* The attempt to attribute the Governing Board's subsequent actions in this respect to any confusion over the extent of its powers is obviously fraudulent.

The guidelines finally issued gave the Local Boards all the powers the central Board felt it was legally entitled to delegate. These did not satisfy the Local Boards, and have been violently attacked by their apologists. Thus the NYCLU pamphlet charges that the Board of Education "scuttled the experiment" with guidelines that "completely emasculated the experiment by stripping the Local Governing Board of virtually all of its substantive powers." The Niemeyer report is rather closer to the truth: "The suggested guidelines prepared by this Committee attempted to formulate the actual authority to be delegated to the Project Boards. In March 1968, however, the three Demonstration Projects agreed upon a consensus document *which demanded full authority, although the Board of Education could not go beyond the legal limits placed upon it by the State Education Law. . . . in some local communities militant groups may be expected to continue to demand powers for which no one yet has proposed legislation. That is, in order for those who want to control all aspects of their local schools to accomplish their objectives, legislative changes would be required that would seriously affect many legal and contractual relationships affecting conditions of employment, such as tenure, that go far beyond the power presently held by the Board of Education*" [emphasis mine—M.J.G.].†

In the meantime, the Ocean Hill Board was consolidating its control of the district's schools, where personnel changes were occurring at a rapid pace. Only one of the seven principals who had been serving in the district in the previous school year was still there at the opening of the spring semester. Largely because of the efforts of the UFT to persuade teachers to remain, changes on the classroom level had been relatively few. At the time, Mr. McCoy seemed anxious to retain the experienced teachers then in the district.

BUT THE PROBLEMS of Ocean Hill and the other demonstration districts might have been gradually worked out, or they might have developed to a point where the experiment would have been recognized as a failure, without involving the entire city, if it had not been for the simultaneous controversy over proposals for decentralizing the entire school system. Suddenly the demonstration districts were seen by supporters and critics of the various decentralization plans—and by themselves—as a microcosm of the entire city's problems. It was not a situation conducive to quiet and orderly compromise.

Although there had in the past been many proposals to shift authority in the school system from central headquarters to the districts, and the Board of Education had taken some steps in this direction in 1965, the idea of drastic decentralization had originally been brought forward less for educational than for fiscal reasons. The formula for the distribution of state aid to schools was such that breaking up the New York school system, at least formally, could increase the amount of aid to which the city schools were entitled. A proposal to establish five borough school systems for this purpose was advanced by Dr. Marilyn Gittell in 1966 in a report prepared, significantly, for the Temporary Commission on City Finances.

It seems likely that Dr. Gittell's suggestion was the origin of Mayor Lindsay's request to the state legislature, in March 1967, that it divide the city school system into five borough systems, *but only for the calculation of state aid.* The idea was not too kindly received in Albany, since any additional aid received by the city would decrease the amount available for other parts of the state. But, apparently through the intervention of the governor, a compromise was reached under which the division would be made provided that the mayor submit a plan for *actual* decentralization by December 1.

One effect of this which the legislators may not have taken into consideration—though one may suspect that Mr. Lindsay was fully aware of it—was that it suddenly catapulted the mayor into a central role in regard to the operation of an educational system over which he had no direct legal authority. The insulation of the schools from the power of the mayor was the result of a

* Professor Lockwood of Brooklyn College is a consultant to the Local Governing Board. According to President Harold C. Syrett of Brooklyn College: "Professor Lockwood has shown me a copy of the Governing Board's by-laws that call for, in the case of transfer or dismissal of teachers, a procedure whereby a principal may bring such matters to the unit administrator, who then refers them to the local board, which after hearings may request the Superintendent of Schools to act in the matter. In other words, the controversial actions taken by the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Board and its unit administrator are contrary to the organization's own by-laws. Professor Lockwood informed me that he opposed this action."

† Many such changes, affecting contractual rights, would probably be barred by the clause in the U.S. Constitution banning state laws impairing the obligation of contracts.

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long struggle to free them from the grip of political hacks. To Mr. Lindsay, who had been multiplying high-salaried patronage posts at a rate unequaled by any other administration in recent years, the independence of the school system appears to have been a source of considerable frustration. Although the Board of Education (with State Commissioner Allen's backing) objected that planning the school system was its function rather than the mayor's, and the New York *Times* charged that the bill constituted political interference with education, the mayor said that it was too late to make any changes. While the bill was still before the legislature, the Board of Education offered its own plan of administrative decentralization, designed to give more autonomy to district superintendents and principals and a greater voice to local school boards. The *Times* urged the mayor to accept it.

The mayor, instead, appointed a committee headed by McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation to draw up a plan. Of the Committee's members only Alfred Giardino, then president of the Board of Education, had any personal experience with the New York school system. On November 9 the Committee, with Mr. Giardino dissenting, presented a proposal for the establishment of thirty to sixty largely autonomous school districts controlled by community school boards; each of these was to have eleven members, of whom five would be appointed by the mayor and six chosen by local selection panels who would in turn be chosen by parent assemblies in the various schools. There would still be a central board which would conduct collective bargaining negotiations, set some standards, administer special and vocational high schools, make lump sum allocations to the districts from a central budget, and perform any other services for districts that these desired to obtain from it. Local boards would be entitled to recruit personnel subject only to state standards, to use their budgets for whatever purposes seemed to them desirable (e.g., shifting funds between instruction and building maintenance), to determine such matters as curriculum (subject to minimum state and perhaps city requirements) and class size, and to incur financial obligations. Central purchasing services would be available but the local boards would not be required to use them; it was not clear what this would do to existing requirements for competitive bidding.

In view of the Ocean Hill controversy it is worth mentioning that, although the Bundy committee wanted prime responsibility for recruitment and sole responsibility for the granting of tenure (except to those employed in centrally administered services) to rest with the community boards, this did not apply to dismissals and transfers. The committee proposed that while charges might be brought by local boards, all hearings on the charges were to be conducted under the auspices of the central board. And the plan provided that "No person presently holding a tenured appointment as a teacher may be transferred out of a district without his own consent; he may be transferred by the community board between schools within the district, but must be placed in a similar position."

THE BUNDY PLAN, as it was generally called, quickly became the center of a storm of controversy. One of its sharpest critics was Borough President Herman Badillo of the Bronx, a leading spokesman for the Puerto Rican community. He declared: "I can't think of anything that would be more conducive to civil strife. The election of local neighborhood boards would create strife because in many areas candidates would be running on ethnic lines. It makes no sense at all. . . . It assumes a civil stability which doesn't exist. It's an incredible proposal. It shows a lack of understanding of New York City today. There are many groups that don't get along. In many parts of the city busing would be abolished and extremists would be running for office." Badillo added that the Bundy plan would introduce the same sort of disruption in the educational system that had prevented the anti-poverty program from functioning properly anywhere in the city.

The Board of Education asserted that "Hiring by thirty to sixty different school districts of teachers and others could increase political, racial, and religious interference in the selection process." One Board member, John A. Lotz (who has since become one of the more extreme advocates of community control and chairman of the Board's committee on decentralization), warned that giving local boards the power to hire and fire would let teachers shop around and the experienced ones would wind up concentrated in middle-class neighborhoods. The Bundy report had argued against the likelihood of this danger by postulating that decentralized districts in disadvantaged neighborhoods would possess an attractiveness for which there was then no objective evidence and which subsequent experience contradicts.

President Albert Shanker of the UFT, while crediting the plan with good features which would help to loosen the existing bureaucratic rigidity of the Board of Education, warned that other aspects could promote "years of chaos and eventual destruction of the city's school system." Pointing out that the proposals would give the mayor effective control of all positions in the school system without any restrictions from the merit system, he called the plan "the greatest piece of political patronage ever perpetrated." And he expressed the fear that "Negro teachers would be hired in Negro areas and white teachers in white areas," while in many districts "extremists would have veto power." Editorially, the *Times* wrote: "The major worry, expressed in-

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dependently by Board and union, appears to be the protection of school administrators and teachers against improper interference by political or racist-extremist pressure groups. This is an entirely legitimate area of concern. It would be indefensible indeed to exchange the present unsatisfactory system of staffing with an equally unsatisfactory system that would place racial considerations above educational effectiveness." To some, such a system seemed not "equally unsatisfactory" but a great deal more so.

The Executive Committee of the UFT met with Mr. Bundy and offered a decentralization plan of its own. This provided that there should be not more than fifteen districts "to insure the possibility of integration within each district and to reduce administrative costs." Each local board would be fully elected by the parents of the district and would have the authority to choose its superintendent. Teachers would be selected on the basis of the National Teachers Examination, and appointments to the districts would be made by the central board from a ranked list on the basis of vacancies.

Rejecting this proposal, Mayor Lindsay submitted to the legislature a decentralization plan which differed only slightly from the Bundy plan. A few months later the Board of Regents offered yet another modification of the same basic plan, extending the number of contemplated local districts to as many as a hundred. The mayor then threw his support to the Regents' plan instead of his own; this was not surprising, since it gave him even more power than the previous proposals. Giardino, the UFT, and the United Parents Associations expressed their opposition to the Regents' plan, with the union urging passage instead of a bill introduced by State Senator John Marchi authorizing the Board of Education to transfer certain powers to the existing local school boards of the city's thirty districts, and directing it to prepare a definitive plan of decentralization for submission to the next legislature.

In the midst of the controversy over decentralization, relatively little attention was paid to an event with somewhat more immediate impact on the schools, the city budget director's announcement—made appropriately on April 1—that funds for education would be cut by 10 per cent. All funds for educational improvements were eliminated, and the appropriation for mandatory expenses was sharply cut—which meant that the money to meet them had to be found by reducing expenditures for existing programs. The city administration obviously found decentralization a pleasanter subject to discuss than money. (Yet the Bundy report had stressed that "Decentralization is no substitute for other deeply needed changes—and in particular it is no substitute for the massive infusion of funds which the school system now needs. . . .") The next day the three demonstration project boards threatened a school boycott—*not as a protest against the gutting of the school budget* but to enforce the demand that the powers they sought be transferred to them at once, despite the fact that no one had the legal authority to do so. Some days later the Ocean Hill Board actually called such a boycott; it was successful at JHS 271 and IS 55, although a majority of the children in the district's elementary schools went in.

THIS WAS THE BACKGROUND against which the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Governing Board suddenly notified nineteen teachers and supervisors—by letters sent to their classrooms on May 9 without prior discussion of any sort—that their services in the district were terminated forthwith and that they were to report to the headquarters of the Board of Education for "reassignment." The Board of Education, which had received no more notice of this directive than had the teachers, immediately declared the action of the Governing Board illegal and directed the teachers to report to work as usual.

Since this incident triggered the conflict which led to the UFT strikes at the beginning of the 1968-69 school year, it is worth examining in detail. As has been pointed out by both the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court and Federal District Judge Anthony Travia, the Local Governing Board at the period in question still had no legal status and had been granted no authority. It was in *de facto* control of the district's schools only because those with legal authority—the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools—were carrying out its decisions.

The Governing Board was quite conscious of its lack of legal authority, but was still determined to assert its power. In her memorandum recommending the "removal" of the nineteen, the Governing Board's Personnel Chairman, Mrs. Clara Marshall, wrote: "We were constantly told that our demands 'were opposed to state laws' but we found that the people in the street considered these laws written to protect the monied white power structure of this city." And she added: "So we will have to make our own rules for our own schools. Enforcement of these rules will have to be carried out by the people of the community."

The question was not even one of actual, as opposed to theoretical, control over staffing. For, as Dr. John Niemeyer stated in the press conference in which he made his report public, the Board of Education had offered to arrange quiet transfers for any teachers the Local Board did not want. According to the New York *Times* of September 14, 1968:

> He said the offer was made last spring before any controversy had developed over the Gov-

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erning Board's power to make such transfers. *But [he] asserted that the Governing Board was determined to prove it had control of the schools by circumventing normal procedure* and announcing that 19 teachers and supervisors must be reassigned elsewhere.

Mr. Niemeyer . . . said the United Federation of Teachers would not have objected to the transfers if they had been made routinely. "It would have been worked out; it's done all the time," he added.

The Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, chairman of the Governing Board, declined to comment last night on Mr. Niemeyer's assertion. "I don't recall any promise," he said, "but I won't deny it." (Emphasis mine—M.J.G.)

The procedure followed was not only without legal warrant; it was also a violation of Mr. McCoy's public pledge that if teachers were not desired in the district, he would "see to it that they are transferred out only after due process." One may also note that the Bundy plan provided that "No person presently holding a tenured appointment as a teacher may be transferred out of a district without his consent." And, as we have already seen, the dismissal of the teachers was a violation of the Governing Board's own by-law.

YET granted that the Local Board wished to assert its power by defying the law and the central Board, why did it choose this particular time and mode? Several answers suggest themselves. One is Richard Karp's idea, in his article in *Interplay,* that the Governing Board was probably encouraged to act as it did by the mayor and other sympathetic members of the establishment. On most questions Mr. Karp is not a very reliable authority. But since almost all his information appears to come from Ocean Hill officials, his statement may indicate that the latter at least *thought* they had the mayor's support in their action. It is hard to believe that the mayor could have wished to encourage the Governing Board in a course with such an explosive potential, although the Ocean Hill situation certainly diverted attention from his maiming of the education budget. There has been speculation, however, to the effect that without Mr. Lindsay's authorization a member of his staff might have appeared to have committed him to support of the Governing Board. At any rate, it is an interesting coincidence that David Seeley departed from his post as the mayor's chief educational adviser before the beginning of the new school term.

But there is an additional explanation of the course of action that the Governing Board took in dismissing the teachers. On the day after the assassination of Martin Luther King, the principal of 271, Mr. William Harris, called an assembly. In his opening remarks he said that the white teachers might leave if they wished; they remained. Mrs. Elaine Rooke, president of the Parents Association and a member of the Local Governing Board, and Walter Lynch, its community liaison officer, spoke. So did Leslie Campbell, vice president of the African-American Teachers Association. Among other things, Campbell told the children: "Brothers and sisters, you have to stop fighting among yourselves. You save your money and finally get enough for a leather jacket and your brother steals it. You've got to get your minds together. You know who to steal from. If you steal, steal from those who have it—stop fighting among yourselves." He was also reported to have made a number of other statements, some of them highly inflammatory, but in regard to these his version differs from that of others who were present. Following the assembly there were a number of incidents of violence. A young woman teacher was attacked by students who punched her, tore out her hair, and ripped her dress. (She had reportedly been taking down signs which read: "Martin Luther King was killed by a vicious white man—Prepare yourselves.") A male teacher was knocked unconscious and had to be taken to the hospital. Another, attempting to go to another school, was pelted with beer cans, punched, and chased back into the school building.

The union chapter at 271 protested to Unit Administrator McCoy and asked that Campbell be removed from the school, that inflammatory signs be banned, and that community leaders explain to students in an assembly that white teachers were not the enemy. Mr. McCoy said that he would have to discuss the requests with the Governing Board. The termination notices to the teachers may have been the Governing Board's answer. As to Mr. Campbell, his reply was perhaps given in a statement he issued together with Albert Vann, President of the African-American Teachers Association, on April 15: "What courses of action are open to the parents and community leaders of the Demonstration School Project? We see only one. Disregard the New York City Board of Education and assume whatever powers you can in running your schools. Hire and fire the teachers and administrators of your schools. Revise your curriculum to fit the needs of your community. . . . While you are legally fighting for other powers assume those that you can *legitimately assume.*" (Emphasis in original.)

When the teachers returned to their schools in accordance with the instructions of the Board of Education, they were faced at 271 and two other schools by mobs assembled by the Governing Board with the assistance of Brooklyn CORE and others, reportedly including officials of the anti-poverty program. A series of confrontations followed. At first neither the police nor the Board of Education acted. Then the teachers were temporarily escorted in by police, but as rioting continued the affected schools were closed down by the city. Mr. McCoy and the Local Governing Board responded by closing down the entire district. A boycott of seven other schools in support of the

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Ocean Hill Board was called by the Rev. Milton Galamison, whose organization SCOPE had received $160,000 from the Ford Foundation to develop community action on the schools. The Galamison boycott fizzled.

In view of the stress later placed by the New York Civil Liberties Union and other partisans of the Ocean Hill Board on the contention that the teachers were merely being "transferred," it is worth noting that Mr. McCoy was quoted by the New York *Times* of May 16 as declaring: *"Not one of these teachers will be allowed to teach anywhere in this city. The black community will see to that."* (Emphasis mine—M.J.G.) He had already accused the teachers of "insubordination" when they reported to their schools in accordance with the instructions of the Board of Education, and had demanded that they be placed on departmental trial.

Mr. McCoy was very reluctant to file formal charges against the teachers, however, asserting that he did not wish to "smear" them. This commendable wish did not prevent him from listing new charges—but never with specifications or evidence—for each interviewer. The original accusation that the teachers had tried to "sabotage" the demonstration district was supplemented by such charges as discriminating between Negro and Puerto Rican students, disregarding the safety of the students, and letting them run wild in order to discredit the experiment.

The role of Superintendent of Schools Bernard Donovan, whose responsibility it was to see that the Board of Education's policies were carried out, can only be called an ambiguous one. Repeatedly he announced decisions and then withdrew them, made threats and then failed to carry them out. Thus on May 20 he suddenly ordered the teachers to hearings before the State Mediation Board; the UFT demanded that he follow normal procedure, under which the teachers would be given three days notice of charges before hearings. The next day some 350 other teachers from the district accompanied the thirteen to the Board of Education. Donovan canceled the proposed hearings and directed the teachers to return to their schools on the ground that Mr. McCoy had failed to submit charges. Mr. McCoy, for his part, denied that he had ever promised to submit written charges. He claimed that the Governing Board was willing to give the teachers fair hearings, but was adamant about not taking them back.

When the 13 dismissed teachers returned once again to 271, they found Mrs. Rooke and others telling the pupils to leave; several hundred of the children did. Soon after, Principal William Harris dismissed the school. No trouble developed at other schools. The next morning, May 22, the 350 teachers who had supported the 13 found letters in their mailboxes from Mr. McCoy. He wrote: "We are offering fair hearings to all teachers *if the teachers and the Union are willing to support total community control.*" (Emphasis mine—M.J.G.) And he directed all 350 to report to his office—which could not have held a tenth of them—at 9 A.M., "to sit with the Governing Board to clarify their working with this Board in recognition of community control."

The teachers went home, and UFT President Shanker announced on May 23 that they would not return until they were guaranteed that they could teach their classes. On the same day Superintendent Donovan directed the principals of all the schools in the district to let the teachers return to class or face charges of insubordination; on that day, too, Mr. McCoy denied that any teachers had been prevented from entering the schools. But on May 24 he again declared that he would not let the teachers return under any circumstances, adding that he realized he was disobeying orders and faced charges of insubordination.

In response to Superintendent Donovan's pledge to act against any administrator interfering with the return of any teacher, the UFT asked the teachers to resume work on May 26. But the next day, after Mr. McCoy had announced that he was "suspending" seven of the original thirteen teachers and Superintendent Donovan had said that this meant nothing, the UFT charged the Superintendent with bad faith. (It was at this time that Mr. McCoy finally presented formal charges against the seven teachers in question.)

On June 14 Judge Francis E. Rivers, whom the Board had chosen as a hearing officer to try the charges against the teachers, recommended that seven of the remaining eleven—two had meanwhile dropped out—be permitted to return to their classes because the charges against them were not serious; the others, he said, should be assigned to the Board of Education pending the disposition of their cases. But the Governing Board still refused to take any of the teachers back and Superintendent Donovan, who had threatened to close the schools of the district in case of continued defiance, said that he would not do so because he did not wish to penalize the children who were still attending them.

NOT SURPRISINGLY, the developments in Ocean Hill had by this time made many legislators in Albany skeptical of the whole idea of decentralization. The UFT has been charged with trying to sabotage decentralization while paying lip service to it. What the union in fact opposed, and lobbied against, was the Regents' plan, and it made no secret of its reasons. "Breaking the school system up into 20 to 100 districts is a segregationist move. It leads to ethnic and racial domination of particular districts. This is apartheid education for living in an apartheid world. This is the kind of education that leads to Watts and Newark, to hate and violence, to crime and chaos. . . .

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"Such districts would compete for public and private funds, employing Madison Avenue techniques and educational gimmickry to gain an edge. There would be competition for good teachers too—on an ethnic or racial or political basis. Make no mistake about it: The result will be a more vicious inequality in the distribution of teaching talent. Many teachers will leave the school system altogether. Who will suffer most? Minority groups and the poor. . . .

"No reform can be abstracted from the circumstances of its proposed implementation. The tendencies to polarization and extremism in our society would, under the proposed decentralization, be virulently concentrated in our schools. Racial animosity, petty factionalism, and grasping ambition would dominate the atmosphere. Our schools would be transformed from centers of learning into maelstroms of ideological and emotional conflict. This is already the scene at IS 201 and elsewhere. . . .

"*Decentralization* is both necessary and inevitable. But it should not mean destructive fragmentation of the City. The number of local school districts should be kept under 15 in order to reduce administrative costs and to insure the possibility of *Integration*. This cannot be achieved overnight but much can be done. The Coleman Report and the Civil Rights Commission Report show that what children learn from each other and their social interaction in the classroom setting is a more important variable in academic success than textbooks (or teachers). . . .

"Money is no more a panacea than decentralization. It does not answer complex questions about the learning process itself. But it is the precondition, the *sine qua non*, of improving educational quality—no matter who controls the schools."

The Regents' plan, whatever chance it might have had before the Ocean Hill events because of its massive backing from the city administration and certain big business groups, was now effectively dead. (A small group of legislators from upper-income districts threatened to stage a sit-in in the governor's office to force its passage; they got as far as the headlines and no further.) But it is important to recognize that decentralization itself would probably, at least for the time being, have died along with the Regents' bill if the UFT had not continued to support the Marchi bill, which had been modified to permit the mayor to appoint four additional members to the existing Board of Education and to authorize the continuation of the demonstration projects. In the form in which it was finally adopted, it also authorized the Board of Education to delegate a wide range of powers to existing local boards and the three demonstration districts for the 1968-69 school year. Meanwhile the Board was to draw up a definitive plan of decentralization for submission to the 1969 legislature.

The summer was devoted largely to preparations for future warfare; little effort was made to reach a settlement of either the Ocean Hill dispute or of differences on the broader issues. Mayor Lindsay appointed his four new members and a fifth to fill the vacancy resulting from the expiration of the term of former Board President Alfred Giardino. Later he was able to make three more new appointments, which finally gave him control of the Board.

Of all the new appointments, by far the most important was that of Mr. Galamison. He was the ablest and most experienced of the new members, he knew what he wanted, and he had a large staff —which he moved into Board of Education headquarters—paid for by SCOPE with its Ford Foundation grant. He also could, and did, mobilize the forces of Brooklyn CORE and similar groups to give him extra-legal support when he felt that would be useful. And through such former lieutenants as Thelma Johnson and Major Owens, who held key posts in the anti-poverty machinery, he was also able to bring that machinery into play to bolster his hand.

JUST BEFORE the schools were opened for the 1968-69 year, the UFT voted to strike. The extension of the strike from the Ocean Hill district to the entire city was partly the result of the UFT's desire to have clauses protecting the rights of teachers inserted into the decentralization plan, and partly of the fact that the resources of the central Board had been used to help Ocean Hill replace the striking teachers. While Mr. McCoy had repeatedly stated that he had more than enough applicants for posts to fill the jobs of the 350 teachers in the district who had walked out in support of those he had sought to dismiss, this turned out not to be the case. When special examinations were held, in which the candidates were to apply directly to Mr. McCoy, only nineteen showed up. But with the aid of the recruiting facilities of the central Board, he was subsequently able to obtain replacements for all 350, although almost all of them were substitutes and most had obtained their licenses through emergency examinations. (Of the teachers in Ocean Hill at the opening of the current term, roughly four-fifths were substitutes as compared to about 30 per cent the previous year. Many of them seemed unlikely to stay in teaching for very long; they were young men trained for professions which did not carry draft deferment, while teaching in underprivileged areas did.)

On August 26 Judge Rivers presented his final verdict, which was accepted by Superintendent Donovan on September 5. Of the eleven teachers whose cases were referred to Judge Rivers, one did not appear for the hearings. The charges against three teachers—Cliff Rosenthal, Barry Goodman, and UFT District Chairman Frederick Nauman—were dismissed when the counsel for

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the Ocean Hill Board stated that he had no evidence to offer against them; in all three cases the charges were essentially that they had expressed opposition to the project and had contributed to the growing hostility between Negro and white teachers. In the other seven cases Judge Rivers ruled either that the charges were inadequate to justify disciplinary action even if proved, or that the evidence which was presented did not support the charges.

After two days the initial strike ended with an agreement which appeared to cover all the points in dispute. The Board of Education stated its belief that "the Governing Board will act in good faith and that their public assurance to the mayor at City Hall on Sunday will be honored. To the Board of Education this means that each teacher who wants to return to his former school and to his professional assignment will not be prevented from doing so, and that these actions will be carried out in good faith and without reprisal."

EVERYTHING was apparently settled, and Mr. McCoy declared that the teachers could return. But when they showed up at their schools they were met by mobs organized by the Governing Board and including members of that body as well as numerous individuals brought in from outside by "Sonny" Carson and others.

Teachers had to be escorted into 271 by the police, because Carson and others had blocked the door. They were then all sent to one room where a group including Carson denounced and threatened them. Then they were summoned to meet Mr. McCoy in the auditorium of IS 55; they found there a group of "community" people who shouted such things as: "If you try to enter the schools we'll throw lye in your face." "Wait until we get the lights out—you'll be very visible." (The lights in the auditorium were turned out several times while the teachers were there.) "Some of you will be going out in pine boxes." Some teachers were hit or shoved.

When the teachers returned to 271 they were again blocked by a mob, again including members of the Governing Board, among them Mrs. Marshall and Mrs. Rooke; again the police had to escort them in. After school they were told the new teachers wished to meet them; when they went to join these teachers, the latter subjected them to the same kind of abuse as before. None of the returning teachers was given his normal teaching duties.

Mr. McCoy announced he could not guarantee the safety of the returning teachers. And Governing Board Chairman Oliver asserted that he could not control the community's opposition to the teachers, *and that he hoped the community would again block the entry of the teachers on the following day.* He also denied that he had ever promised the mayor that the teachers would be allowed to return to actual classroom duties. Meanwhile the Board of Education, by a vote of 7-2, approved the agreement with the UFT.

But the agreement remained on paper. Because it was sabotaged by the Governing Board, and because the Board of Education and the city administration failed to take any effective steps to enforce it, the union went back out on strike after two days. Again there were intensive negotiations and a new agreement was reached on September 29. The teachers were to be returned to the district and observers from the Board of Education and the UFT, as well as from the mayor's office, were to be present in all the schools. The Governing Board did not even pretend to accept this agreement; when the teachers returned they were again met with mob action, threats, and violence in which members of the Governing Board took an active part, as did certain individual teachers. The Governing Board even announced that it was sending its own observers into the schools—and gave credentials to "Sonny" Carson and persons associated with him. A flying squadron of pupils and teachers from 271, led by Albert Vann, marched to other schools to intimidate the teachers there.

BUT THIS TIME the Board of Education and the mayor did try, initially, to enforce the agreement. First Mr. McCoy and then the principals were suspended for sabotaging it. This was followed, however, by more rioting at 271. Outsiders permitted by the police to enter the school after having been "identified" as "parents" by Walter Lynch, the Governing Board's community liaison officer, harassed teachers and observers. One Board of Education observer was threatened with death. The office of Mrs. Evelyn Farrar, a Negro assistant principal who had been designated as acting principal by the Board of Education, was invaded in relays throughout the day by groups of outsiders and "militants" among the McCoy-appointed teachers. They denounced and threatened her; the threats had special meaning for her because on one previous occasion she had been hit by a board—it narrowly missed her head—dropped twenty feet from a projection booth which was supposed to be unoccupied at the time but in which one of the "militant" teachers and a student belonging to the same group were actually present. At the end of the day Mrs. Farrar had had enough; she requested a transfer out of the district. Following this incident, the Board of Education closed down 271. For the rest of the week education proceeded in the other schools of the district.

But on Friday evening Superintendent Donovan suddenly announced his intention of reopening 271 and restoring the suspended principals on Monday, despite the absence of any pledge on their part to honor the agreement. This decision was taken without any advance consultation with the UFT—and without notifying the then

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president of the Board of Education, Mrs. Rose Shapiro. It apparently reflected the fact that during the week a majority of the Board had agreed to replace Mrs. Shapiro with one of the new appointees, John Doar, and to make Milton Galamison vice-president. Whether the new Board officers gave the Superintendent instructions without waiting until they had actually been elected, or whether Dr. Donovan simply anticipated what he believed to be their wishes, is not clear. In any case the UFT's reaction was that it had been double-crossed once again, this time by the Board of Education and the mayor. By Sunday night the UFT's Executive Board, its Delegate Assembly, and its membership had all voted overwhelmingly in favor of going out on strike Monday morning for the third time. The union now said that it would not go back unless the Governing Board, Mr. McCoy, and the principals were kept suspended at least until peace was established in the district; it also demanded the suspension and trial of four teachers at 271 accused of harassing and threatening others.

A new factor now entered the situation. Mayor Lindsay, although he had no love for the union—or indeed for public service unions in general—seems to have been considerably more interested in arriving at a settlement than his appointees to the Board of Education were. On more than one occasion he suggested compromise formulas only to have his own appointees on the Board vote them down. Board meetings reportedly were devoted almost entirely to discussion of ways to break the strike; ways of settling it did not concern the new members. Indeed, in the negotiations which preceded the first strike, an old member who sided with the new appointees, John Lotz, threatened in so many words to break the union. He had been regarded as the mayor's candidate for the Board Presidency; his frankness may have caused the mayor to change his mind.

State Commissioner Allen was also brought into the discussions on a number of occasions. He proposed the institution of a trusteeship for the Ocean Hill district under which Mr. McCoy and the principals would be in charge but would be supervised by a representative of the commissioner's office. This did not satisfy the union for two reasons; it did not believe that the presence of a trustee would bring Mr. McCoy and the principals into line, and it did not trust the commissioner, who had never liked unions and had taken an extreme position in favor of local hiring and firing without regard to civil-service regulations. There was increasing public pressure for a special session of the state legislature to end the impasse by repealing the decentralization law and wiping out the demonstration districts. The UFT itself, which had hesitated to support a special session precisely because it feared that decentralization of any sort would be killed, finally decided that there was no other recourse in the face of the intransigence of Ocean Hill and the crescendo of attacks to which the union was being subjected by the city administration, the Board of Education, and the "corporate" establishment, as well as its intellectual hangers-on, in general. (It has been suggested that the union feared that a special session would have resulted in more drastic anti-strike legislation. That could only have happened if the call had included amendment of the Taylor law; it is most unlikely that Governor Rockefeller would have subjected his alliance with labor to that strain.) But the governor, who had the power to call a special session, was not eager to do so; he preferred to let his rival in city hall struggle to extricate himself from the mess. After all, when the governor had imposed a settlement in the sanitation workers strike, the mayor had made political capital out of a demagogic attack on his rescuer. So Mr. Rockefeller simply said that the mayor had all the powers he needed to settle the strike, and let the possibility of a special session continue to hang over his head.

EVEN IN the absence of a special session, however, the potential role of the legislature was still an important factor. For the regular session would begin in January, and it was becoming increasingly clear that in the absence of significant concessions to the UFT the strike would still be on at that time. The union membership was in no mood for surrender, nor was there any sign of a crack in its solidarity. The almost frantic efforts of some Board of Education members, and various groups of "concerned parents," produced a nominal 7-9,000 teachers in the theoretically open schools (as compared with an average of 18,000 during the 1967 strike when the issues were economic and educational; this time the teachers felt that they were fighting for their lives, professionally and perhaps even literally). Of these, according to reliable sources at the Board of Education, fewer than 3,000 were regularly appointed teachers. Some of the others were day-by-day substitutes, while some were people with long-dormant substitute licenses or suddenly acquired emergency ones who had entered the schools for political reasons and were unlikely to maintain any future connection with them.

In any case, whatever satisfaction having a school "open" might give someone whose main priority was breaking the teachers' union, the educational results were slim. This did not, of course, apply to those few areas like Ocean Hill-Brownsville itself, where a fairly full complement of teachers was actually present. The children in Ocean Hill-Brownsville probably learned no less than usual during the strike; as the world was informed by an endless parade of instant experts, most of whom had probably never set foot in a school since childhood and some of whom had never set foot in a public school at all, the children may even have learned more, since the absence

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of at least half of the student body resulted in a ratio of pupils to staff which ranged between 6½ to 1 and 7½ to 1. With *that* sort of ratio (not exactly testimony to actual community support of the Governing Board), it would take a very special skill to avoid imparting some knowledge.

The event which finally broke the logjam was one which had long been foreshadowed, the action of the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court in upholding the earlier decision by Judge Rinaldi that the appointment of the Ocean Hill "demonstration principals" was illegal. This enabled the city to make a major concession to the union without loss of face, while the union on its side was now willing to have Rhody McCoy remain as Unit Administrator in return for his pledge to cooperate with a state-appointed trustee. The UFT also received guarantees against harassment elsewhere in the city. To enforce them, Commissioner Allen—who may have been rather more conscious of the meaning of the coming legislative session than those less wise in the ways of Albany—appointed a committee of three persons whom the union trusted and who superseded the Board of Education in some respects.

THE STRIKE WAS, of course, important enough in itself. The New York school system is the largest in the country. The UFT is the largest local union in the country.

But it was more important for the issues it involved and the forces which were mobilized around them. These issues remain, and will be fought out for a long time, whether in the political field or in future strikes. They will recur in other areas and other occupations. One of these issues is the status of public employees. An American superstition has it that there is something sacrosanct about public employment which makes strikes against the government equivalent to sinning against the Holy Ghost. In a time in which government employment is a rapidly and inevitably increasing sector of the economy, such a doctrine has totalitarian implications. (The Thirteenth Amendment bans involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime. So far as I know, working for the government is not yet officially regarded as a crime anywhere in the U.S. —though it may well be a blunder.) It was for this reason that the labor movement as a whole regarded the issue as a crucial one.

Another issue which received constant stress in the news media was the Jewish-Negro confrontation.* The union was constantly referred to as Jewish, and the Ocean Hill district was always called a Negro ghetto. There were charges and countercharges of racism and anti-Semitism. On a more fundamental plane, the charge was made that the merit system, which the union claimed to be defending against a patronage grab by the mayor in collusion with local power seekers, was actually a device for protecting the ethnic status quo—Jewish predominance in the schools, Irish in the police, Italian in the sanitation department—and an obstacle to Negro advancement. In fact, the reverse has been historically true. The merit system has served one minority after another in its struggles to circumvent the barriers of discrimination. Negroes, too, are finding the civil service a relatively smooth road to advancement; they are already proportionately more numerous in the post office and many other federal departments than in the population as a whole.

BUT PERHAPS the most complicated issue which emerged out of the conflict was that of the orientation of society to the problems of its least privileged sectors. There is a widespread movement now afoot to ally the bottom and top layers of American society against those in the middle—and especially against the organized workers. This strategy has its implicit assumptions; it stems from the belief on the one side that the first enemy of the man at the bottom is the man one step up, and on the other that the discontents of the most wretched can effectively be appeased without any expense to those at the top.

It also has its political implications. Such an alliance cannot, for instance, challenge those facets of the economy from which its corporate sponsors benefit. It cannot aim at the elimination of exploitation; at best—and a rare best—it can be directed against the most flagrant forms of exploitation. (I have yet to see an advertisement of the Urban Coalition urging people not to buy grapes, yet a victory in the California grape strike would be of more direct benefit to American minority groups than any number of ads suggesting that we "Give a Damn" for the Ocean Hill Governing Board.)

The natural enemies of this new alliance are those groups which are troublesome to its upper, rather than to its nether, millstone; in an alliance between the elite and the sub-proletariat, it does not take a course in Marxism to know who is going to use whom. The specific idea of community control of the schools, in the form in which it has been advanced in New York, is one which can offer quite tangible benefits to certain sections of the economic elite. For example, it affords an excuse for not increasing expenditures and taxes; we have seen the relationship in the genesis of the issue in New York. But to the people of the community, the *actual* community, it offers only the simulacrum of power—for they have no command over the economic resources which real power requires—in place of the reality of improved, and more expensive, education.

* For a further discussion of this issue in general, see Earl Raab's article which begins on p. 23.—ED.

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Is White Racism the Problem?

Murray Friedman

ONE OF THE LESS fortunate results of the black revolution has been the development of a by now familiar ritual in which the white liberal is accused of racism and responds by proclaiming himself and the entire society guilty as charged; the Kerner report was only the official apotheosis of this type of white response to the black challenge of the 60's. No doubt the report has performed a service in the short run by focusing the attention of great numbers of Americans on the degree to which simple racism persists and operates throughout the country, but in the long run its picture of an America pervaded with an undifferentiated disease called "white racism" is unlikely to prove helpful. And even in the short run, the spread of the attitudes embodied in the report may have had a share in helping to provoke the current backlash.

It is, perhaps, understandable that blacks should take phrases like "white racism" and "white America" as adequate reflections of reality. Nevertheless, these phrases drastically obscure the true complexities of our social situation. For the truth is that there is no such entity as "white America." America is and always has been a nation of diverse ethnic, religious, and racial groups with widely varying characteristics and qualities; and conflict among these groups has been (one might say) "as American as cherry pie." According to the 1960 census, no fewer than 34 million Americans are either immigrants or the children of immigrants from Italy, Poland, Ireland, and a host of other countries. Racially, the population includes not only caucasians and 22 million blacks, but 5 million Mexican-Americans, and smaller numbers of Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Puerto Ricans. Membership in U.S. religious bodies, finally, breaks down into 69 million Protestants (who themselves break down into 222 denominations and sects), 46 million Roman Catholics, and 5.6 million Jews.

Neither earlier restrictive immigration laws nor the forces working toward the homogenization of American life have rendered these groups obsolete. While it is true that we have carved out for ourselves a collective identity as Americans with certain common goals, values, and styles, we are still influenced in highly significant ways by our ethnic backgrounds. A number of social scientists, including Gerhard Lenski and Samuel Lubell, have even gone so far as to suggest that these factors are often more important than class. And indeed, membership in our various racial, religious, and ethnic groups largely accounts for where we live, the kinds of jobs we aspire to and hold, who our friends are, whom we marry, how we raise our children, how we vote, think, feel, and act. In a paper prepared for the National Consultation on Ethnic America last June, the sociologist Andrew Greeley reported that Germans, regardless of religion, are more likely to choose careers in science and engineering than any other group. Jews overchoose medicine and law. The Irish overchoose law, political science, history, and the diplomatic service. Polish and other Slavic groups are less likely to approve of bond issues. Poles are the most loyal to the Democratic party, while Germans and Italians are the least.

Such ethnic differences* are by no means mere survivals of the past, destined to disappear as immigrant memories fade. We seem, in fact, to be moving into a phase of American life in which ethnic self-confidence and self-assertion—stemming from a new recognition of group identity patterns both by the groups themselves and by the general community—are becoming more intense. The "black power" movement is only one manifestation of this. Many alienated Jews suddenly discovered their Jewishness during the Israeli War of Independence and especially the Six-Day War. Italians have recently formed organizations to counteract "Italian jokes" and the gangster image on television and other media, while Mexican-Americans and Indians have been organizing themselves to achieve broadened civil rights and opportunities. At the same time large bureaucracies like the police and the schools are witnessing a growth in racial, religious, and ethnic organization for social purposes and to pro-

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* Throughout this article, references to ethnic differences include racial and religious differences.

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tect group interests.* To some degree, each of us is locked into the particular culture and social system of the group from which we come.

THE MYTH, TO BE SURE, is that we are a nation of individuals rather than of groups. "There are no minorities in the United States," Woodrow Wilson, a Presbyterian, declared in a World War I plea for unity. "There are no national minorities, racial minorities, or religious minorities. The whole concept and basis of the United States precludes them." Thirty years later, the columnist, Dorothy Thompson, warned American Jews in the pages of COMMENTARY that their support of Israel was an act of disloyalty to the United States. "You cannot become true Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not become American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is not worthy to live under the Stars and Stripes." And more recently the New York *Times* criticized Martin Luther King, Jr., and James Farmer in similar terms after the two Negro leaders had laid claim to a share of the national wealth and economic power for Negroes as a group. Terming this plea "hopelessly utopian," the *Times* declared: "The United States has never honored [such a claim] for any other group. Impoverished Negroes, like all other poor Americans, past and present, will have to achieve success on an individual basis and by individual effort."

The ideology of individualism out of which such statements come may be attractive, but it bears little relation to the American reality. Formally, of course, and to a certain extent in practice, our society lives by the individualistic principle. Universities strive for more diverse student bodies and business organizations are increasingly accepting the principle that, like government civil service, they should be open to all persons qualified for employment. But as Nathan Glazer has suggested:

> These uniform processes of selection for advancement and the pattern of freedom to start a business and make money operate not on a homogeneous mass of individuals, but on individuals as molded by a range of communities of different degrees of organization and self-consciousness with different histories and cultures.

If, however, the idea that we are a nation of individuals is largely a fiction, it has nonetheless served a useful purpose. Fashioned, in part, by older-stock groups as a means of maintaining their power and primacy, it also helped to contain the explosive possibilities of an ethnically heterogeneous society and to muffle racial divisiveness. Yet one symptom of the "demystification" of this idea has been the recognition in recent years that the older stock groups are themselves to be understood in ethnic terms. The very introduction of the term WASP into the language, as Norman Podhoretz has pointed out, signified a new realization that "white Americans of Anglo-Saxon Protestant background are an ethnic group like any other, that their characteristic qualities are by no means self-evidently superior to those of the other groups, and that neither their earlier arrival nor their majority status entitles them to exclusive possession of the national identity." As the earliest arrivals, the WASP's were able to take possession of the choicest land, to organize and control the major businesses and industries, to run the various political institutions, and to set the tone of the national culture. These positions of dominance were in time challenged by other groups, in some cases (the Irish in city politics, the Jews in cultural life) very successfully, in others with only partial success (thus Fletcher Knebel reports that, contrary to the general impression, "the rulers of economic America—the producers, the financiers, the manufacturers, the bankers and insurers—are still overwhelmingly WASP").

But whatever the particular outcome, the pattern of ethnic "outs" pressuring the ethnic "ins" for equal rights, opportunities, and status has been followed since colonial times and has been accompanied by noisy and often violent reaction by the existing ethnic establishment. There was the growth of the Know-Nothing movement when the mid-19th century influx of Irish Catholics and other foreigners posed a challenge to Protestant control; there was the creation and resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan at every stage of the black man's movement toward equal rights; there was the organization of Parents and Taxpayers groups in the North and White Citizens Councils in the South to oppose school desegregation and Negro school gains. Bigotry and racism certainly played a part in these phenomena. Yet they are best understood not as symptoms of social illness but as expressions of the recurring battles that inevitably characterize a heterogeneous society as older and more established groups seek to ward off the demands of newer claimants to a share of position and power.

Even the recent explosions in the black ghettos have a precedent: "In an earlier period," Dennis Clark tells us, "the Irish were the riot makers of America par excellence." They "wrote the script" for American urban violence and "black terrorists have added nothing new." So, too, with some of

* A New York City police spokesman listed the following organizations operating among members of the 28,000-member force several years ago: the Holy Name Society, an organization of Roman Catholics, with 16,500 members; the St. George Association, Protestant, 4,500 members; the Shomrim Society, Jewish, 2,270 members; the Guardian Association, Negro, 1,500 members; the St. Paul Society, Eastern Orthodox, 450 members; and the Hispanic Society, with 350 members of Spanish descent.

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the educational demands of today's black militants. As late as 1906, the New York *Gaelic American* wanted Irish history taught in the New York City schools!

RACIAL AND ETHNIC CONFLICT takes its toll, but it has frequently led to beneficial results. When pressures mounted by the "outs" have caused widespread dislocation, the "ins" have often purchased community peace by making political, economic, legal, and cultural concessions. As the Irish, for example, became more fully absorbed into American life through better jobs, more security and recognition—in short, as the existing ethnic establishment made room for them—Irish violence decreased, and the Irish have, in fact, become some of the strongest proponents of the current racial status quo. The hope of achieving a similar result undoubtedly accounts in some measure for concessions which have been made to Negroes in many racially restive cities today. Thus, when white voters in Cleveland helped elect a Negro mayor (Carl Stokes), they were not only recognizing his abilities—which are said to be considerable—but also acting in the belief that he could "cool it" more effectively than a white mayor. Nor is it a coincidence that the Los Angeles city and county school boards are now headed by Negroes.

In the past, a major barrier to the advancement of black people has been their inability to organize themselves as a group for a struggle with the various "ins." Their relative powerlessness has been as crippling as the forces of bigotry arrayed against them. As one Philadelphia militant said, "Impotence corrupts and absolute impotence corrupts absolutely." But some black power leaders have recently emerged with a better understanding than many of their integrationist colleagues of the fact that successful groups in American life must reserve a major portion of their energies for the task of racial or religious separation and communal consolidation. Divorced from posturing and provocative language, the emphasis by certain (though not all) black militants on separatism may be seen as a temporary tactic to build political and economic power in order to overcome the results of discrimination and disadvantage. "Ultimately, the gains of our struggle will be meaningful," Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton wrote in *Black Power*, "only when consolidated by viable coalitions between blacks and whites who accept each other as co-equal partners and who identify their goals as politically and economically similar."

This is not to suggest that black power (or Jewish power or Catholic power) is the only factor in achieving group progress, or that "the American creed," of equal rights, as Gunnar Myrdal has called it, is a mere bundle of words. Indeed, the democratic tradition can act as a powerful force in advancing minority claims even when the majority does not accept its implications. Public opinion polls have reported consistently that open-housing laws are unpopular with a majority of Americans, and yet 23 states and 205 cities have enacted such legislation and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 makes it a federal responsibility. Nevertheless, the democratic ideal obviously has never guaranteed full entry into the society to ethnic out-groups. In a pluralistic society, freedom is not handed out; for better or worse, it has to be fought for and won. The "outs" can attain it only by agitation and pressure, utilizing the American creed as one of their weapons.

It is important in all this to recognize that no special virtue or culpability accrues to the position of any group in this pluralistic system. At the moment the American creed sides with Negroes, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and other minorities who have been discriminated against for so long. But we should not be surprised when Italians, Poles, Irish, or Jews respond to Negro pressures by rushing to protect vital interests which have frequently been purchased through harsh struggles of their own with the ethnic system. Here is how a skilled craftsman replies to the charge of maintaining racial discrimination in his union in a letter to the New York *Times*:

> Some men leave their sons money, some large investments, some business connections, and some a profession. I have only one worthwhile thing to give: my trade. I hope to follow a centuries-old tradition and sponsor my sons for an apprenticeship. For this simple father's wish it is said that I discriminate against Negroes. Don't all of us discriminate? Which of us when it comes to a choice will not choose a son over all others? I believe that an apprenticeship in my union is no more a public trust, to be shared by all, than a millionaire's money is a public trust.

Surely to dismiss this letter as an expression of white racism is drastically to oversimplify the problem of discrimination. But if the impulse to protect vested interests accounts for the erecting of discriminatory barriers, no less often than simple bigotry or racism, it is also true that Americans are sometimes capable of transcending that impulse—just as they are sometimes capable of setting aside their prejudices—for the sake of greater social justice. E. Digby Baltzell has pointed out in *The Protestant Establishment* that the drive to gain equal rights and opportunities for disadvantaged minorities has frequently been led by members of older-stock groups. On the other hand, members of minority groups are not necessarily ennobled by the experience of persecution and exploitation. As Rabbi Richard Rubenstein has observed, "the extra measure of hatred the victim accumulates may make him an especially vicious victor."

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Nor does the position of a given ethnic group remain static; a group can be "in" and "out" at the same time. While Jews, for example, continue to face discrimination in the "executive suite" of major industry and finance, in private clubs and elsewhere, they are in certain respects becoming an economic and cultural in-group. To the degree that they are moving from "out" to "in" (from "good guys" to "bad guys"?), they are joining the existing ethnic establishment and taking on its conservative coloration. Rabbi Rubenstein has frankly defended this change in an article, "Jews, Negroes, and the New Politics," in the *Reconstructionist*:

> After a century of liberalism there is a very strong likelihood that the Jewish community will turn somewhat conservative in the sense that its strategy for social change involves establishment politics rather than revolutionary violence. Jews have much to conserve in America. It is no sin to conserve what one has worked with infinite difficulty to build.

So far so good—though, regrettably, Rubenstein uses this and other arguments to urge Jews to opt out of the Negro struggle. The point, however, is that not all the groups resisting black demands today are "in" groups. Just as in a fraternity initiation the hardest knocks come from the sophomores, the most recently accepted and hence least secure group, so in ethnic struggle the greatest opposition will sometimes come from groups whose interests would seem to make them natural allies.

At the moment some of the hottest group collisions are taking place in the big-city schools. The "outs"—in this case the blacks—see the older order as maintaining and fostering basic inequities." Hence, we are now witnessing the demand for decentralization or "community control" of big-city school systems. The "ins"—in the case of New York, the Jews; in the case of Boston, the Irish—naturally see these demands as a threat. The blacks claim that the existing system of merit and experience tends to favor educators from older religio-ethnic groups; the latter fear that new and lowered criteria of advancement and promotion will destroy many of their hard-won gains. The result is increasing conflict amid charges of racism from both sides.

The underlying problem, however, is a power struggle involving the decision-making areas controlled by an older educational and ethnic establishment. At the heart of the issue is a group bargaining situation whose handling calls for enormous sensitivity and the development of procedures that will protect the interests of the conflicting groups. A similar confrontation in the 19th century which was badly handled was a major factor in the withdrawal of Catholics from the Protestant-dominated public schools and the creation of their own school system.

IN THE MEANTIME, struggles among other groups persist, often also involving the schools. Frequently, these result from differences in group values and styles as well as interests. An example is the school board fight in Wayne Township, New Jersey, which attracted national attention in February 1967. The Jewish, and total, population of Wayne, a suburb of Paterson and Newark, had grown sharply since 1958, when it was a homogeneous Christian community with only 15 Jewish families. With a changing community came new pressures—burgeoning school enrollment and school costs, and anxiety over court rulings banning prayer and the reading of the Bible in public schools. There was one Jew on Wayne's nine-member school board in 1967 when two others decided to run. The vice president of the board, Newton Miller, attacked both Jewish candidates, noting, "Most Jewish people are liberals especially when it comes to spending for education." If they were elected, he warned, only two more Jewish members would be required for a Jewish majority. "Two more votes and we lose what is left of Christ in our Christmas celebrations in the schools. Think of it," Miller added.

Subsequently, the Jewish candidates were defeated amid widespread condemnation of the citizens of Wayne. The incident was cited by sociologists Rodney Stark and Stephen Steinberg as raising the "specter of political anti-Semitism in America." In their study, they concluded, "It couldn't happen here, but it did."

Miller's statements may indeed have appealed to existing anti-Semitic sentiment in Wayne. But this was not the whole story. After all, the Jewish member already on the board had been elected by the same constituency that now responded to Miller's warnings. And it must be admitted, furthermore, that by and large Jews *are* "liberals," willing to spend heavily on the education of their children just as they are desirous of eliminating religious practices from the public schools—attitudes shared, of course, by many non-Jews. Miller appealed to group interests above all: to an interest in preserving traditional religious practices in the schools and in holding down education expenditures. There was in this case genuine concern by an older religio-ethnic establishment that its way of life and values were in danger of being swept away. The votes against the Jewish members were of course illiberal votes, but that was just the point. In Wayne, charges of anti-Semitism obscured the real problem: how to reconcile differences in group values in a changing, multigroup society.

All this is not of course meant to deny the existence of racism as a force in American life, nor to underestimate the cruel and pervasive conflicts which it engenders. But it must be recognized that the crucial element in much of inter-

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group conflict is not how prejudiced the contending parties are, but what kinds of accommodations they are capable of making. For many years, a federal aid to education bill has been tied up in Washington, in part because of a Roman Catholic veto. The Catholic hierarchy, whose schools have been undergoing financial crisis, and a number of Orthodox Jewish groups who also want government assistance for their schools are ranged on one side of the issue. On the other side are most Protestant and Jewish groups, along with civil-liberties and educational organizations, who are suspicious of the motives of the Catholic Church and fear that financial assistance by government to parochial schools will lead to an abandonment of the separation of church and state principle embodied in the federal and state constitutions, with the resultant destruction of the public schools. Debate now ranges in many states over providing free busing of pupils to parochial schools, supplying textbooks, auxiliary services, and equipment to non-public school students, and financing construction of buildings at church-related colleges and universities. The result has been an intensification of religious tensions.

In this controversy, however, the problem is not, as many seem to believe, mainly one of constitutional law. In spite of the First Amendment, American public education throughout our history has reflected the values and goals of a Protestant society—until, that is, Catholics and other groups began to press for, and finally obtained, a more neutral posture. The problem here is rather one of adjusting to the reality of the Catholic parochial school system—to the public service it performs and to the political power it represents. When the Constitution was adopted, Catholics numbered less than 1 per cent of the total population. Today they are the largest single religious group and they support a parochial school system which, in spite of criticism inside and outside the Church, continues to educate large numbers of Americans.*

It seems likely that this controversy will be resolved through a redefinition of the American public education system. Thus, secular and other aspects of parochial education that benefit the general community—subjects such as foreign languages, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and gym—will in all probability receive some form of public assistance. Indeed, this is already happening in the form of shared time or dual enrollment (parochial school children spend part of the day in public schools), aid to disadvantaged children under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and various other measures.

IT IS A TRIBUTE to our social system, proof of its workability, that the inexorable pressures of pluralistic confrontation do result in shifts in power and place. WASP control of political life in the nation's cities was displaced first by the Irish and later by other ethnic groups. The newest group moving up the political ladder is the Negro, with mayors now in Gary and Cleveland. The Negro press predicts that by 1977 there may be 21 black mayors.

There are, of course, many real differences between the Negro and other groups in this country, including the Negro's higher visibility and the traumatic impact of slavery. He is, nevertheless, involved in much the same historical process experienced by all groups, with varying success, in attempting to "make it" in American life. The idea that he faces a monolithic white world uniformly intent for racist reasons on denying him his full rights as a man is not only naive but damaging to the development of strategies which can lead to a necessary accommodation. It does no good—it does harm—to keep pointing the finger of guilt either at Americans in general or at special groups, when what is needed are methods for dealing with the real needs and fears of all groups.

As David Danzig has written: "Few people who live in socially separated ethnic communities, as most Americans do, can be persuaded that because their communities are also racially separated they are morally sick. Having come to accept their own social situation as the natural result of their ethnic affinities, mere exhortation is not likely to convince them—or, for that matter, the public at large—that they are thereby imposing upon others a condition of apartheid." Nor is exhortation likely to convince the 20 million families who earn between $5,000 and $10,000 a year that they are wrong in feeling that their own problems are being neglected in favor of the Negro. It is clear that intergroup negotiation, or bargaining, with due regard for protecting the interests of the various groups involved, is one of the major ingredients in working out racial and religious adjustments. In other words, power has to be shared—in the schools, on the job, in politics, and in every aspect of American life.

The time has come to dispense with what Peter Rose has called the "liberal rhetoric . . . of race relations." There can be no effective intergroup negotiation or bargaining unless due regard is paid to the interests of all groups. Nor will effective bargaining take place until we learn to go beyond simplistic slogans and equally simplistic appeals to the American creed.

* A study by Rev. Neil G. McCluskey in 1963 reported that 26 per cent of the children in New York, 34 per cent of those in Chicago, 39 per cent in Philadelphia, 23 per cent in Detroit, 28 per cent in Cincinnati, 30 per cent in Boston, and 42 per cent in Pittsburgh attend Roman Catholic parochial schools.

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On Pro Football

Richard Schickel

BY COMMON CONSENT, the most striking sports phenomenon in the 1950's has been the displacement of baseball by professional football as the Great American Game. Football suits us. Indeed, I suspect it suits us in more than a momentary way, in that it seems to answer some psychological needs of post-industrial man that may not be assuaged unless he should carelessly manage to turn himself into post-civilized man.

Within the large phenomenon of pro football's popularity, the most interesting story in this decade has been the resurgence of the Green Bay Packers, a once mighty power that, in the 1950's, fell on days so desperate that many feared for the team's life. The revitalized Packers (since 1959 they have won five league championships, a division title, and have only once finished lower than second in their division) now symbolize an ideal of perfection analogous to that of the old New York Yankees. Like the Yankees, the Packers (at least until this season) have been a proud, confident, and cool team, depending for their success on a handful of superstars, a deep bench, and superb execution of the basic skills of the game.

Here, however, the analogy must end. For in the requirements it makes of its coaches and players, football is quite a different game from baseball. It is in illuminating the depth of this difference that *Instant Replay: The Green Bay Diary of Jerry Kramer** is invaluable. At any rate, it is probably the best book ever written about the game. Less technical than *Run to Daylight,* which Vince Lombardi, Kramer's coach and the man who remade the Packers, brought out a few years ago, not so polished or so self-consciously adorable as George Plimpton's *Paper Lion, Instant Replay* is a gritty, determinedly direct and detailed record of Kramer's 1967 season with the Packers, from the opening of training camp through the winning of an unprecedented third consecutive league championship and a second consecutive Super Bowl over the American Football League champions.

JERRY KRAMER is an offensive guard, somewhat more prominent than most players in that generally anonymous position because he and his team are exceptionally good, because fans have, with television's help, begun to pay attention to outstanding interior linemen, and, finally, because of his performance during and just after the NFL championship game last year. In that game, he, along with center Ken Bowman, wedged Jethro Pugh, the Dallas Cowboys' right tackle, just enough to allow Green Bay's great quarterback, Bart Starr, to squirm into the end zone with the winning touchdown in the final sixteen seconds of play. This moment was shown over and over again on television and, aside from providing him with the title of his book, it made Kramer, who was more visible than Bowman in the TV shot, an instant celebrity. But this was not all. Immediately after the game, when he was led before the network's locker room camera, Kramer, a pleasantly articulate man, was asked to explain his team's success. "There's a great deal of love for one another on this club," he said, to the surprise of many viewers. "Perhaps," he added, "we're living in Camelot." People do not expect to hear football players talking in sentences, let alone sentences with this much resonance.

In stating his point, one which had been lost in all the technical blather that so preoccupies broadcasters, sportswriters, and followers of pro football, Kramer performed a real service—isolating the special quality that separated his team from other, perhaps equally gifted ones, and, possibly, revealing the real secret of the force his game has come to exert on the national imagination.

THE CENTRAL CHARACTER of *Instant Replay* is not Kramer, however, but Vince Lombardi. This is as it should be, for football, more than any other sport, is dominated by the coach. There are two basic reasons for this. The first is the complexity of the game. A man must have a strong streak of the *idiot savant* in him to spend days running movies of his own games and those of future opponents in order to find not only the tiny flaws of his own team but, more important, the small weaknesses of the enemy as well. Preparation of this sort is impossible in other sports where games routinely follow close upon one another. In football, however, each game is an event (there are only fourteen in the NFL season, which means that each has a numerical weight in the standings between eleven and twelve times greater than a major league baseball game). Compared with what a football coach must do, the jobs of basketball coaches and baseball managers are very simple—they have fewer players to manipulate, a far more limited range of strategies available to them, and nothing like the football coach's problems in keying a team up to a certain point (but not beyond it) for each of the handful of weighty occurrences that constitute a season. Every football game is important; very few baseball games are—indeed, if you are a member of the Houston Astros, none is.

Hence, the second reason for the coach's dominance in the sport. Unlike any other kind of coach he truly must be an inspirational leader, such as Kramer shows Lombardi to have been.

When Lombardi was coaching —he retired last winter—his drive both as psychologist and as strate-

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gist was always to simplify, simplify, simplify. In his own book Lombardi remarked: "They call it coaching, but it is teaching. You do not just tell them it is so, but you show them the reasons why it is so and you repeat and repeat until they are convinced, until they know." What he did with the Packers, right from the beginning, was to get down to fundamentals. He conditioned his teams until they were literally tougher than any other team in the league. (Kramer is very vivid on the agony of doing exercises until you are ready to drop *before* you even begin practicing the day's plays.) Lombardi also reestablished the long-neglected running game, which, of course, makes the fancier, more crowd-pleasing—and much easier to coach—passing game more effective by forcing the defense to concentrate on two threats instead of one. There was nothing very elaborate about his ground attack. Under Lombardi the Packers' trademark tactic was known far and wide—the 49 sweep, which amounts to nothing but the fullback running around end with a lot of blockers in front of him, a play whose antecedents are lost in the pre-history of the game. Lombardi's great strategic insight was equally simple: Run straight at an opponent's strength, on the theory that if you beat him there you are bound to beat him at his weak points, too.

Lombardi's theory of the game was a natural extension of his psychology. He infected his players with a passion to win that was at once comical and terrifying. His pre-game speeches, as recorded by Kramer, were sometimes directed at the team's sense of professionalism (the one appeal that seems to be universally effective in the modern, job-oriented world, where the highest compliment we can pay a man is to call him an "old pro"). But this was the only "management technique" Lombardi ever employed. Most of the time he drove his men unmercifully, screaming and shouting and humiliating them in front of their teammates. He threatened them with loss of income, with trades to "hinky-dinky" teams (his phrase), and even with physical violence.

Obviously, Lombardi was a primitive. Or, if not that, a complicated man who deliberately shed all ambiguities, amenities, and hypocrisy in order to enforce on his club the convention that football was something more than a game or a livelihood; that if it was not life itself, then it was an apt, indeed a perfect, metaphor for life. Kramer and most of his teammates knew that this was a questionable proposition, and out of the coach's earshot they discussed it with rough irony. But not on the practice field, not in the locker room. There, under the impress of the man's will, they believed.

NEVERTHELESS, one of the reasons for Kramer's much-quoted post-championship speech and, I suspect, for his book, was to let the public in on a secret that should have been obvious: namely, that even a professional football team cannot live by verbal floggings alone. What Lombardi was working at—how consciously it is impossible to say—was the creation of a psychological framework much richer and more complex than a corporate leader can possibly know when he is exhorting his employees to practice team spirit. He was really recreating a traditional sense of family, the kind of basic, social entity that few of us know at first hand anymore. He was an old-fashioned man, playing old-fashioned football in an old-fashioned atmosphere where he was the pater familias, demanding that his respect—his love—be earned and re-earned constantly. And it is perhaps a measure of how far we have come from the days in which this type was a commonplace to note how mysterious and exotic Lombardi seemed to sportswriters and fans alike. A New York psychiatrist, for example, told me with passionate sincerity that he hated the Packers because Lombardi was, in his view, a fascist.

Certainly he was, in the 1960's, an original. I am not at all certain he was a coach for all football seasons, but he was the perfect coach for his time and for his place.

Consider, first, his time. Until the end of World War II, there was something faintly disreputable about all professional sports except baseball. The idea of amateurism exercised a powerful hold on us. Now, admittedly, there is something attractive in watching an individual achieve a champion's proficiency in his spare time and with hope of no greater reward than a medal or a line of small type in a record book. There is a basic flaw in the concept, however: No one invests the time to achieve a high level of skill just for the exercise or the fun of it—there is too much of the former, too little of the latter implicit in the enterprise. In the end, the highest pleasure in sport must derive from winning, that is, from the imposition of one's will on one's opponent. This cannot be consistently achieved on a part-time basis. The goal requires full-time dedication and that means either professionalism or false, indeed, hypocritical amateurism, of a sort the Olympics demonstrate every four years.

WE RESISTED this knowledge for a long time, but in the 50's it began to be apparent that professionals were not sullied by making money in addition to receiving the other, more traditional, rewards of athletic competition. And so, realizing that they keep money in perspective, that money creates a higher level of play and therefore greater aesthetic satisfaction for the spectator, and that a coach like Lombardi creates an ideal of professionalism at least as austere and attractive as the old amateur ideal, we can only be grateful for the relief he and his fellows have offered us from the tension of trying to maintain our respect for amateurism in a world to which it is no longer suited.

It seems significant in this regard that in *Instant Replay*, Kramer, a professional above all else, hardly ever speaks about overall strategy or in technical jargon. One of the paradoxical results of professionalization has been that the game, at least for him, has come down to individual combat—with the man across the scrimmage line, or with his own sometimes reluctant body and spirit. Lombardi, by taking so much on himself, made it possible for his players to find a clear, well-defined place in the middle of con-

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fusion. Indeed, I believe that the heart of football's enormous appeal to all of us at the moment lies in witnessing this process: We see men making order for themselves out of chaos, and, although violence is implicit in that effort it is not, to my mind, the thing that we really care about. What we really like about football is its clear-cut resolution, its release from the tensions of ambiguity. In an age when popular psychology encourages the negative virtues of "life adjustment," we have turned spontaneously to a game that places a high value on the traditional, untrammeled American virtues. It is a quiet mass movement that tells us much about our sense of what we have lost and our sense of what we need, and Vince Lombardi is its legitimate folk hero.

YET I AM NOT SURE that he could have reached this status anywhere but in Green Bay. Lombardi's kind of single-mindedness required a special ambience, and Green Bay, a small and isolated town in northern Wisconsin, was perfect for him. Here I speak personally, for I come from Wisconsin and the Packers are my hereditary team. In fact, they are about the only part of my heritage that I care very much about any more. You must understand that out there we have very little to think about more stimulating than football and that this game is perhaps the only activity about which there is some objective evidence of regional superiority. Over the years, at least until recently, it has generally been conceded that the college teams of the Big Ten (plus Notre Dame, of course) have consistently played the best ball in the nation. To be sure, the flashy teams of the Southwest and the Far West were occasionally seen to beat the Mid-western teams or to outrank them in the polls, but the belief has been that year in, year out, they don't have the strength from top to bottom of the league that the Big Ten has, and hence don't send as many good players to the pros. Moreover, the college teams of the region—as well as the Packers, the Lions, and the Chicago Bears—have always enjoyed a reputation for soundness and for a hard-rock style of play combined with an innovative spirit: The Packers of the early 1930's were the first great passing team, the Bears the first to embrace the T formation.

What better place, then, for single-minded, humorless, passionate Vince Lombardi to set up shop? What better place finally, fully to professionalize the sport? In Green Bay, football is football, an end in itself, not an adjunct to show biz, or just one of the many mildly amusing diversions offered by the big city.

For this game was ours, despite its invention eastward, long before it was anyone else's. Like the region itself, it is graceless and effortful and it puts great emphasis on the spirit of cooperation, the burying of individual eccentricities and desires. It has little to offer in the way of self-justifying form; for the player, its only real pleasure lies in the disciplining of self in order to achieve the desired end—the win.

BUT THAT MYSTERIOUS, abiding, even "unsportsmanlike" taste for the win, for the moment of dominance over the outlander, is amazing in its potency—that moment which is in anticipation (even after long seasons of discontent such as Green Bay suffered) so delicious that in our minds we are tolerant of momentary failures. You will not hear a crowd in Milwaukee or Green Bay boo an errant quarterback on a bad day; for football is an existential question, too serious a matter to be sullied with rude or light-minded responses. We in the stadium do not know, firsthand, the kind of love of which Kramer spoke on television—the kind born of intense comradeship in pursuit of the defining goal of victory. But I think that we have guessed, remembering the more exalted moments of boyhood play, at the existence of that love, and, at least in Wisconsin, can participate in the passion more than most fans are able to. In our innocence, we created the environment in which Kramer, Lombardi, and the Packers could flourish. Elsewhere they might have seemed weird or comic, here they were welcomed as logical extensions of our not-so-secret selves. Our reward, of course, has been something even better than winning. We have helped spawn the ideal team of the ideal game. What bliss!

Witchcraft & the Movies

Edward Gross

LIKE *The Graduate,* the film *Rosemary's Baby* calls for explanation as a phenomenon of the times. Both movies are polished, professional products of the filmmaker's art; both are stories of highly educated, urbanized persons who face the problem of making it in modern America. And, strangely, the message of both is the same: The only way to make it is to give up your soul.

In *The Graduate,* Benjamin and his girl make a last desperate effort to remain free, but fail. In *Rosemary's Baby,* on the other hand, persons succeed through giving up their souls, and to the devil at that. This film asks us to believe that, in a fantastic review of the Nativity story, Rosemary's baby is sired by the devil,* and that Rosemary's husband cooperates in arranging his wife's maculate conception simply in order to further his own career as an actor. In the end, Rosemary herself, after withdrawing in horror from the baby ("What have you done to his eyes!" she screams), slowly overcomes her revulsion and, since she is the mother after all, approaches the baby with a soft, half-smile of loving acceptance. Then, while everyone in the movie audience is waiting to see what happens next, the scene closes and it is the end.

Despite its musty locale in the Dakota apartments, the movie is no period piece. In fact, the arresting point about *Rosemary's Baby* is that in spite of its invocation of the occult, it finally comes through as being quite modern—every bit as modern as *The Graduate*—and

* In the novel by Ira Levin on which the movie is based, Rosemary's name is made doubly significant when she is worshiped with the phrase: "Hail Rosemary."

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completely appropriate to the New York City streets and aseptic doctors' offices in which it takes place. The setting is plainly believable. The events, however—a coven of witches possesses the diabolical power to blind, to kill, and finally to find a woman to serve as a vessel of the evil spirit, a mother of a sort of Black Christ—are scarcely believable.

It is perhaps for this reason that film reviewers have either ignored *Rosemary's Baby* or refused to take it seriously. The *New Yorker* dismissed it as a "horror film about pregnancy," the *Saturday Review* was content to label it "sly [and] . . . stylish," and *Time* called it a "wicked argument against planned parenthood." Several reviewers made it clear that the only reason they were reviewing it at all was because of the previous reputation of its director, Roman Polanski (*Knife in the Water, Cul-de-Sac, Repulsion*). These reviewers have quickly gone on to express disappointment that Polanski has let us down this time with what the *New Republic*'s Stanley Kauffmann calls an "intelligent" thriller, "clever and insubstantial." Expecting significance, explains the *Nation*'s Robert Hatch, "you hang about for almost two hours to discover what is behind all the seeming devil worship, only to discover that it is devil worship." Still, audiences kept on paying high prices at first-run theaters, week after week, to see *Rosemary's Baby*—something they will rarely do for intelligent thrillers, or for mere devil worship. The interesting question, then, turns out to be not what the movie says, but why people want to hear about what it says.

SOCIOLOGISTS ARGUE that in a stable society religion provides the necessary answers to the great questions of life, death, and man's fate. But when the stability is upset, persons experience a sense of being lost, and, in a peculiar state of receptivity they turn desperately about, looking for new answers. But they will not listen to just any answers. How is it that they come to listen to the message of witchcraft?

Let me review for a moment some rather striking cases of magical beliefs, which persist for a very simple reason: They work. Not long ago, my young daughter accompanied my wife and me to the racetrack and proceeded to pick a winner by observing the colors of the jockey's silks. Similar stories, I know, are told by many (usually by racing pros in reference to their —by implication, stupid—wives) and the method does indeed work, once in a while, else the story would not persist.

A possible explanation is spelled out in a striking analysis by Omar Khayyam Moore of scapulimancy among the Naskapi Indians of Labrador. This tribe is confronted with the problem of forecasting the location of the periodically migrating reindeer which they hunt for food. Their technique consists of killing a reindeer, extracting a scapula, and letting it dry in the sun. As it dries, cracks appear which, when read by a skilled scapulimancer, tell where to look for reindeer. Moore, speculating on the apparent success of this practice, suggests that it is not merely that it gives hunters self-confidence so that they look harder for the reindeer. More important, he thinks, is that the cracks in the scapula provide a randomizing device which makes sure that hunters will never return to the same place two years in a row. The cracks will always present a different picture. If hunters were to return to the same (that is, the most probable) places, such as water holes, salt-licks, or known paths, then they would decimate the reindeer population and eventually destroy it, or else the reindeer themselves would, by gradually learning, turn to different paths. Hence, like a boxer who takes care continually to shift his strategy in the ring so that his opponent never knows what's coming next, the Naskapi are enabled by scapulimancy to keep changing their strategy so that the reindeer are always caught by surprise.

Choosing horses by the color of jockey's silks is surely also a randomizing device. And, since the variables associated with picking the winner seem to be beyond man's intelligence, perhaps a random choice is as good as any other.

As soon as we bring in the concept of the "randomizing device," it should be recognized that we are in the high-level area of probability theory, one of the more esoteric fields of modern science. It appears that the scientific design of experiments is impossible without tables of random numbers, and computer software routinely includes "random-number generator" programs to overcome bias in scientific investigations. If one wishes to draw a random sample of the population to study, for example, the distribution of lung cancer cases, or the number of unemployed, it is unsafe to let interviewers select, say, 10 per cent of the houses on a street. For they will tend to choose houses near bus stops, near places where they can park their cars, or on corners. And such households, it seems, are likely to be higher in average income. So one forces them to go rigidly down a sequence of houses, with the stops determined by some formula, e.g., every tenth house in order, with the first house chosen from a table of random numbers.

WHICH BRINGS US back to the opening scene of *Rosemary's Baby* in which we meet Rosemary and her husband, Guy. Our innocent couple is apartment hunting and, by chance it would seem, they stumble on an apartment which happens to be next door to that of the witches. But the presence of witchcraft is not random, and the witchcraft itself is taken seriously. In fact, when it dawns on Rosemary that she is in the clutches of witches, she does a remarkable thing. She goes to a bookstore (no pornography house off Times Square, but a bona-fide, high-class bookstore) and buys two fat books on the subject. Further, the clerk has no trouble finding authoritative source books on witchcraft for her.

Rosemary's ability to find such books can be easily tested in any bookstore, and paperbacks on the occult are appearing in all the places books are sold. There is evidence that hippies and their kind are shifting from sex to mystical and mysterious practices, with drugs being used not for the sheer pleasure of the drug experience,

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but to secure readier access to hidden worlds. An alphabetical listing of the "psychic sciences" in one study provides us with the following: aeromancy (divination by study of cloud shapes, comets, etc.), alchemy, alectryomancy (letting a bird pick grains of corn from a circle of letters, thus indicating words or names), aleuromancy (fortune cookies), alomancy (divination by salt), apantomancy (chance meetings or passages of animals or birds, as in the story of the choice of location for Mexico City in which Aztec soothsayers are supposed to have seen an eagle carrying a snake), arithmancy (early form of numerology), astrology, augury, astromancy (study of winds), axiomancy (observing quivers of an ax when driven into a post), belomancy (tossing of arrows), capnomancy (smoke from fires), cartomancy (fortune telling with cards), ceroscopy (study of bubbles formed by melted wax poured into cold water), clairaudience and clairvoyance, cleromancy (casting lots with pebbles), clidomancy (working with a dangling key), critomancy (study of barley cakes), crystal gazing, daphnomancy (listening to laurel branches crackling in an open fire), divining rods, geomancy (interpreting doodles), graphology, gyromancy (persons walk in a circle marked with letters until they become dizzy and fall on some letters), haruspicy (entrails examinations), horoscopy, hydromancy (color of water, its ebb, ripples; reading coffee grounds), lithomancy (use of precious stones), numerology, oneiromancy (dream interpretation), palmistry, phrenology, premonition, prophecy, pyromancy, spirits, stichomancy (opening books at random), tephramancy (seeking of messages in ashes), xylomancy (use of pieces of wood). Long as this list is, it could be made ten times longer. Some of the sciences it lists are enormously complex in themselves, especially astrology, graphology, numerology, palmistry, and phrenology. To these can be added all the legends and myths told of ESP, the cosmic force of OM, mystical experiences, and other mysteries whose very inexplicability is felt to carry the implication of profound meaning.

Many, perhaps most, would prefer to dismiss magic, divination, and witchcraft as aberrations, as the superstitions of the ignorant or demoralized. Some, recognizing that believers have included persons of unquestioned integrity and probity (like Crookes, Hyslop, William James, Sidgwick, Gilbert Murray, Lombroso, William McDougall), are more charitable and concede these sciences to have some legitimate place as precursors of modern science, as in the well-known cases of alchemy and astrology, or in the way that skill in manipulating kabbalistic numbers eventually resulted in skill in manipulating natural numbers. But whether one wishes to dismiss the whole business or grant it a limited historical place, it ought to be declining, and the impression one gets is that it is not. Of course, good data on the matter are impossible to come by, but it is apparent that it has never been easier to secure books on the subject (the novel by Ira Levin which the film of *Rosemary's Baby* follows very closely is reported to have come close to two and one-half million paperback copies in print) and there were those lines of persons waiting to get into the movie house. Furthermore, they were there not to see voodoo practices in some hidden backwoods mountains that civilization has passed by, but to witness the persistence of the supernatural right in New York City. And what they saw was witchcraft being firmly accepted by such an urbane character as Rosemary's husband, and eventually by Rosemary herself, as educated and slick a chick as ever dangled a tannis-root charm from her neck.

YET IS THIS CREDULITY so surprising after all? The unexplained and terrifying were never so great as they are right now. We know more and more, but the sense of control hardly seems to grow at all, and nowhere is this more the case than in our cities. Long ago, nature was the problem. We used to worry about being struck by lightning; now we are more likely to be electrocuted or burned up from faulty electrical wiring. Rocks falling from a hillside crushed an occasional ancestor; we are more likely to be crushed by a car-driver on alcohol or LSD. Wild animals have been replaced by berserk gunmen. And worse still are the evils we only dimly suspect—the howling Arab, the dark Chinee, Wall Street, the military-industrial complex, the bureaucratic university, the National Council of Churches.

Are we left, then, with only the notion of chance and accident to explain our present, precarious condition? Writing of "luck" as a social function, Robert Merton finds it to have a special appeal to the powerless: "For the unsuccessful and particularly for those among the unsuccessful who find little reward for their merit and their effort, the doctrine of luck serves the psychological function of enabling them to preserve their self-esteem in the face of failure." And following that argument, we duly note the frequency of gambling and faith in lotteries among the wretched of the earth. But the trouble with luck or chance as an explanation is that it leads to resentment and an even greater sense of hopelessness. Particularly in as rationalistic a society as the United States, we will accept chance as an explanation only in the last resort. Our apparent success in taming nature, raising productivity, reducing disease, and fighting our enemies inclines us to believe that little need be left to chance. The modern corporation leaves nothing to chance—that's why it works so well and crushes all opponents.

So "just luck" simply will not do —not for the educated American who has achieved a little success (and knows that chance has had very little to do with it), and certainly not for the American who cannot face meaninglessness or absurdity as explanatory theories. For what is chance but another name for the absurd? Which brings us back once more to *Rosemary's Baby*. For witches don't leave anything to chance: The world for them is determined and controllable. When Rosemary first confronts her baby, she covers her face, raises her fists to the ceiling, and screams: "Oh God! Oh God! Oh God! Oh God! Oh God!" But Roman Castevet, her neighbor and the head witch, thunders back:

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> God is Dead! God is dead and Satan lives! The year is One, the first year of our Lord! The Year is One, God is done!

And that, I am constrained to argue, if not a contribution to the Christian atheism controversy, is at least a nice try.

THERE ARE of course situations where chance leads to the best predictions, as in the case of the Naskapi Indians, and where it is also the best guide to behavior. The use of lots to choose leaders, as with the Athenian jurymen and councilors, has been often noted. In jurisprudence, perhaps the most striking example is the medieval method of uncovering the guilty through trial by ordeal. Some have sought a supposedly psychological explanation for that technique: The guilty would reveal themselves by their nervousness. But since such a test would make anyone nervous, this explanation appears inadequate. Rather, suggests the Norwegian sociologist Vilhelm Aubert, chance seems to have been deliberately used in such tests not in order to find the guilty, but in order to decide who would be punished. In situations where definite proof of guilt is hard to come by because of poor police methods, or where there are simply too many crimes to solve (even modern police forces seem to solve very few crimes), social control by random choice may represent the most workable method.

The only difficulty with initiating such systems is that people must believe they are deterministic if they are to work. Thus, a system of punishing every tenth person in a town might work, since secrecy won't help hide a crime, and there is at least a chance that a really guilty person will be caught every once in a while. As for the rest, well, crime is very widespread and there are few who would be unable to think of a crime they had once committed for which punishment was now being meted out. However, if people know or believe that the system is really random, they will rebel or commit suicide, for life is then indeed bitter and absurd.

The Naskapi Indians, of course, believe that gods are speaking to them through the scapula cracks; they believe, that is to say, that their randomizing device is deterministic. So, too, does the medium who shuffles the Tarot cards and the witch who mutters over "tannis root." They believe that they are personally not causing anything; they are merely invoking forces which *are there*. From this point of view, then, witchcraft and all the psychic sciences turn out to be socially legitimized randomizing devices. They make sure that a random choice is made, and, in the absence of better knowledge, this choice may be the best one. But they also make sure that the random choice is acceptable by founding it on the powerful, shared belief that the choice is an expression of orderly principles.

That is why we shall not have a lottery system to substitute for our present muddled, prejudiced army draft system. In spite of the argument, advanced by many, that a lottery is more "fair," since otherwise the black and disadvantaged are more likely to be sent to war, the doctrine of fairness is not so powerfully entrenched among us as is the doctrine of reason or "justice." Some people "deserve" exemption; others have less right to demand it. We have trouble with defining this doctrine but we will not abandon it.

BUT THEN, what *does* determine the course of our lives? Maybe the gods don't go for all our worshiping and praising and sacrificing, or our striving, honesty, and self-denial. Maybe they prefer instead to observe good and evil and make known their decisions by controlling the course of the winds, the shape of the clouds, the bubbles from melted wax dropped in water, or the number that comes up on the wheel. We'll never know—unless, of course, someone runs for President on a kabbalistic ticket. At the very least, if he won, we'd end up with a draft lottery.

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Prose Laureate

THE COLLECTED ESSAYS, JOURNALISM, AND LETTERS OF GEORGE ORWELL. Edited by SONIA ORWELL and IAN ANGUS. *Harcourt, Brace & World. 4 vols. 2041 pp. $34.80.*

Reviewed by GEORGE WOODCOCK

THERE HAVE BEEN few more striking examples of the transformation which takes place when a man becomes a dedicated writer (or painter or scientist for that matter) than George Orwell. The change began with the dramatic break in 1927, when at the age of 24 Eric Blair abandoned the role of a servant of the British Empire to which his family tradition of Indian officialdom had predisposed him, and decided, with a rather self-conscious enjoyment of the role, that henceforward he would be a writer: a writer, moreover, committed to becoming the prose laureate of the underdog. The second break came in 1932 when Blair published his first book, not under his real name, but under the newly coined nom de plume of George Orwell.

Other writers have published under noms de plume but have still lived private lives in their own names, feeling no particular need to allow literary personae to take over the rest of their lives. Orwell, however, became the complete author. Having made his choice, he found it impossible to live the kind of double existence which Trollope, for example, supported for so long. Having decided to become a writer, he related everything he did to that decision. He lived as a tramp, picked hops in Kent, stayed among the miners in the north of England, all to gather material which he later turned into books; even to Spain he went first with the intention of writing about it as a journalist, and in the end turned the whole bizarre experience of his involvement with the Communist power play into one of his best books and one of the best books about the Spanish Civil War, *Homage to Catalonia.*

The latest—and possibly the last—books to be published under his writing name admirably document Orwell's literary career. The four volumes of *The Collected Essays, Journalism, and Letters of George Orwell* cover the thirty years from 1920 to his death in 1950. But only a solitary item, a schoolboy letter written to Steven Runciman when Orwell was still at Eton, belongs to the period before he broke with his pre-literary past. Apart from this, the first volume begins with Orwell's earliest professional publication in English, an article entitled "A Farthing Newspaper" which appeared in *G. K's Weekly* late in 1928. The first letter is one written in 1929 from Paris to Max Plowman, editor of *Adelphi,* which published most of Orwell's early work.

It is extraordinary that Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, the editors of the four volumes, should have found so little material from the first half of Orwell's life: one page up to the age of 25, as against nearly 2,000 pages from 25 to his death at the age of 46. Some items that did survive they have rightly omitted, such as the patriotic poems of boyhood published in local newspapers during World War I (even in manhood Orwell was a dreadful poet, as a few examples published here show), and the contributions to student magazines at Eton. Others have been left out with less apparent justification, such as the early article on censorship in England which appeared, in French, in Barbusse's *Monde* several months before Orwell published anything in an English paper. But, leaving aside these literary juvenilia, Orwell's early years remain largely—indeed, mostly—*terra incognita.* It is astounding that no document should survive from his five years in Burma; that all we know of his childhood and youth must be learned from the little he chose to tell in his writings and from the very scanty recollections of those who knew him.

But this is probably as Orwell would have wished. "It took me nearly thirty years to work off the effects of being called Eric," he once told Rayner Heppenstall, and he rarely talked of that shadowy past before 1928. Though a few old friends continued to call him Eric to the end, he became more and more in his own mind, as well as in that of the world, the George Orwell who had rejected Eric Blair's imperial role and taken on the new persona of the writer and the radical. Certainly the accidents of availability have made this collection more of an approximate unity than it might otherwise have been, for it is the record of his whole literary career, and his whole life as George Orwell, continued almost to the point of death, but of virtually nothing else.

THE FOUR VOLUMES include all Orwell's longer essays, which are the more familiar items, since most of them have already been collected in earlier volumes like *Shooting an Elephant* and *Dickens, Dali, and Others,* not to mention the scandalously inadequate *Collected Essays* published in London in 1961. Yet it is useful to see splendid pieces like "Dickens" and "Such, Such Were the Joys" placed in their context of time. For the editors have wisely followed a chronological pattern in which essays, letters, and journalistic pieces are arranged according to the date of writing. The essays are now complete, and—judging from the selection which the editors took from Orwell's letters to me—I would say that all the available letters of any lasting interest are included. The journalism is less fully represented. Few of the book reviews Orwell contributed to the *Manchester Evening News* and the *Observer* between 1943 and 1947

GEORGE WOODCOCK *is the author of* The Crystal Spirit, *a study of George Orwell. His article, "Anarchism Revisited," appeared in our August 1968 issue.*

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are included, and there is only a single example of the hundreds of talks which he broadcast to India while he worked at the BBC between 1940 and 1943. I remember also other reviews and small articles in sectarian Leftist papers like *Freedom* and the *New Leader* (London) which have not been caught in the editors' net.

Even so, it is a collection which will probably satisfy anyone but the most exacting Orwellists, and it brings to the surface some new and notable treasures. There is, for example, the journal which Orwell kept in 1936 when he went to the north of England to gather material for *The Road to Wigan Pier*. A comparison between this and the book itself reveals how much Orwell was the literary artist even in his books of reportage, shifting and rearranging in order —not to falsify facts—but to present an account more aesthetically convincing and hence more persuasive. There is a very amusing account entitled "Clink"—which Orwell inexplicably failed to publish —of his experiences when he got drunk one day in the hope of seeing what the inside of a prison might be like; he got no further than the police station, for the magistrate fined him six shillings, and though Orwell would not pay, he was released a few hours afterward without having experienced the rigors of Wormwood Scrubs. A journal he kept when he went hop-picking in Kent with a couple of petty thieves reveals a curious fictional transposition; when Orwell made literary use of these adventures he attributed them, in *A Clergyman's Daughter*, to a feminine character. Perhaps the most interesting of all these unpublished pieces are the complete wartime diaries which Orwell kept for almost three years, between May 1940 and November 1942, diaries which are singular—though very characteristic of Orwell—for the personal reticence which is combined with an almost frenetic running interest in the events of the time and the actual physical aspects of the war as it changed London into the shabby broken city which Orwell later used as the background for *1984*.

The wartime diaries fit admirably with the political commentaries of the same period, which are here collected for the first time —the series of London "Letters" to the *Partisan Review* which lasted through the war, and the "As I Please" columns (part political, part literary, part sociological) which Orwell contributed to the *Tribune* each week after he became its literary editor in 1943. These war years were the high point of Orwell's political involvement. Spain really initiated him, convincing him not only of the evil of totalitarian Communism, but also of the justice and need for libertarian socialism. The eve of the war found him in a classic revolutionary defeatist position, suggesting to Herbert Read that they set up an underground organization ready to start clandestine propaganda. However, the outbreak of the war revealed to Orwell that he was a patriot as well as a socialist. He resigned from the Independent Labour party, which opposed the war, and, by joining the staff of the *Tribune*, demonstrated his allegiance to the Left wing of the Labour party, though he emphasized that a writer must serve a political cause in his own way and never as a party hack. The London "Letters" show a great deal of erratic insight into the issues of the war, a hatred of the Right (Churchill only less than Chamberlain), a naive belief that England would become a revolutionary socialist nation before the war ended (in fact he saw this as the only way to win the war), and an almost paranoid tendency to see a fascist behind every bomb shelter. Later, when the sound and fury had died down, he was to apologize profusely to all those war resisters he had called "objective" fascists, to become in many cases their close friends, and to find his natural place once again in the sectarian Left, defending civil liberties among the anarchists and libertarian socialists of the Freedom Defense Committee.

THE LITERARY INDUSTRY these volumes represent, added to Orwell's novels, critical books, and semi-autobiographies, is impressive evidence of his dedication, particularly when one remembers that at least enough material for two more thick volumes has been omitted. For Orwell, after all, started late and died young. His writing life was a mere twenty years, and a great deal of that he spent in other kinds of doing, and in more than his share of illness. But he had, like Proust, the urge that kept him writing even when he was near death. He finished *1984* while he was desperately ill, and during the last months of his life, in a hospital, he kept a notebook sketching out ideas for essays and novels, commenting on his environment, and including a paragraph of self-analysis in which many writers will see a mirror of themselves.

> It is now (1949) 16 years since my first book was published, & abt 21 years since I started publishing articles in the magazines. Throughout that time there has literally been not one day in which I did not feel that I was idling, that I was behind with the current job, & that my total output was miserably small. Even at the periods when I was working 10 hours a day on a book, or turning out 4 or 5 articles a week, I have never been able to get away from this neurotic feeling, that I was wasting time. I can never get any sense of achievement out of the work that is actually in progress, because it always goes slower than I intend, & in any case I feel that a book or even an article does not exist until it is finished. But as soon as a book is finished, I begin, actually from the next day, worrying because the next one is not begun, & am haunted by the fear that there will never be a next one—that my impulse is exhausted for good & all. If I look back & count up the actual amount that I have written, then I see that my output has been respectable: but this does not reassure me, because it simply gives me the feeling that I once had an industriousness & a fertility which I have now lost.

Considering how much of his work was produced in running haste, the quality still strikes one as remarkably good and consistent. Almost everything in these four volumes is at least the kind of journalism that catches the attention after a quarter of a century, and most of it is much better than

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that. I used to be surprised to watch Orwell writing an almost perfect "As I Please" piece straight on the typewriter, with no second version, but I think the reason for this facility as well as for his productivity under the circumstances of his life lay in the extent to which his writing was tied into his existence. By this I do not mean that he wrote about his major experiences, though that was true and important, for he was always a memoirist rather than a novelist. I mean rather than he liked to talk out his ideas in long monologues over cups of strong tea and hand-rolled cigarettes of black shag, and not long afterward one would see the evening's talk appearing as an article, and not long after that the third stage would be reached when it was incorporated into a book, as many of his conversations during 1946 and 1947 found their final form in *1984*. It was a good way of trying out subjects, and I think the constant interplay of writing and conversation helped to give Orwell's work its peculiar liveness. That liveness remains, preserved in *The Collected Essays, Journalism, and Letters* with even greater contrast and variety than in his novels and his books of reportage. For this is the raw material of biography, and I doubt that any scholar will turn it into better form.

The Road to Necropolis

THE URBAN PROSPECT. By LEWIS MUMFORD. *Harcourt, Brace & World. 255 pp. $5.95.*

Reviewed by HERBERT J. GANS

FOR OVER thirty years now, Lewis Mumford has been a major American prophet and preacher, calling for drastic change not only in our architecture and planning but in our entire civilization. His latest collection of essays continues to warn that industrialization is creating an increasingly depersonalized and totalitarian society, which in its urban form is evolving "from megalopolis, handicapped by its own growth, to parasitopolis and patholopolis, till it reaches a terminal point: Necropolis, the city of the dead." The only solution, Mumford asserts, is a return to "an organic, life-centered economy . . . cut to the human scale, so that every organism, every community, every human being shall have the variety of goods and experiences necessary for the fulfillment of his own individual life course." Mumford pleads for massive economic, political, and residential decentralization, the last to be accomplished primarily by building new towns with neighborhoods that encourage maximal personal contact and the mutual enrichment that results from the mixing of diverse people.

THIS IS AN eloquent, if by now familiar, set of complaints and proposals; as such, of course, it is all to the good. The trouble is that Mumford seems to be so dedicated to his prophecy as to be unaware that a few of his ideas—if not in quite the way he has stated them—have begun to receive favorable hearings. Even while he was writing his earlier books on these themes, many of his readers (and many more who have never read him) were already moving to the suburbs to find the small communities Mumford wanted them to look for: what the Levittowners I myself studied called "the peaceful outdoor life," and "enjoying the neighbors." More recently, as some of Mumford's dire forecasts have come to pass—the spread of slum violence into middle class neighborhoods, the sharp increase in traffic congestion and air and water pollution—even the cities have begun to pursue a more life-centered and less profit-centered approach to planning.

At the same time, that portion of the younger generation which is now "dropping out" shares—or has adopted—Mumford's hatred of anti-human, giant technology, and is busily experimenting with "communes" and political organizations which try to bring about, through

HERBERT J. GANS *is a frequent contributor to these pages. His most recent book is* People and Plans: Essays on Urban Problems and Solutions.

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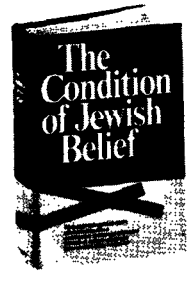

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"participatory democracy," the very decentralization he has long advocated. And the organized ghetto has, of course, come out for the idea of economic and political decentralization within the city, if only as a substitute for the failure of racial integration.

UNFORTUNATELY, however, Mumford does not recognize his allies. He rejects the suburbs for their "needless aesthetic dreariness and social monotony," and he turns on the younger generation for what he describes as its "indiscriminate sexuality." His vision of the humane society and community is too utopian to permit a good word for any partial improvements or partial sharing of his values.

Perhaps Mumford is too far ahead of his time; our current crises may have to get a lot worse before we can accept the solutions he thinks are required. But for all his vision, he may also be behind the times, preaching the values of another era and advocating a style of life drawn from the past. Although he has often been attacked as a worshipper of the medieval city, his vision of the ideal civilization actually stems mainly from the 19th century. His opposition to modern technology and his belief in neighborly living, civic participation, and enrichment through diversity are all outgrowths of an ideology developed principally by Protestant, upper-middle-class reformers and philanthropists of the late 19th century who felt that the agrarian America which they dominated culturally and politically was endangered by the advent of urban industrialization and particularly by the poor European immigrants. These reformers called for land use control to limit urban growth, and for neighborhood planning, parks, and settlement houses, to re-create small-townish community life and to Americanize the immigrants; they proposed demographically mixed neighborhoods in the hope that once the poor were scattered among the native middle class population, they would cease to form a "dissolute" and "dangerous element."

Mumford of course rejects the patronizing features that accompanied these proposals for the 19th century's "urban crisis," but his own new town has some of the Puritan flavor and many of the "character-building public facilities" (although he does not call them that) advocated by the old patrician reformers. Not surprisingly, when such facilities have in fact been provided they have generally been perceived by their intended beneficiaries as citadels of organized moral and cultural uplift, and have been shunned, or simply ignored. Mumford's advocacy of mixing the classes seems equally unenforceable, however desirable it may be, for it also reflects an upper-middle-class reformer's value. People who are sure of their own social status can call for associating with those of lower prestige; people who are not so sure have always found ways of circumventing class mixture when they have had a choice.

IN SHORT, MUMFORD seems to be either unaware of the current tone of America or too unhappy with it to adapt his ideas to any of its tastes. There is, to be sure, nothing wrong with preaching the values of the 19th century or of a single class, although an advocate of public improvements should make some allowance for how the people to be improved upon feel. But Mumford fails to see, for example, that most lower-middle and working class Americans prefer the single-family house with its own back yard to his new town—where private space is sacrificed to maximize parkland—and rightly so, for the back yard is much more convenient for easy child-raising and much more amenable to informal socializing than the public park.

I am not certain that he understands the black poor either, who he believes "lack the family closeness, religious precept and ritual . . . foresight, thrift and self-education" of the European immigrants. And, although Mumford advocates full employment, children's allowances (to stop after the third child), rent supplements, and better housing, he places more emphasis on moral failure than on the consequences of segregation to account

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for the plight of the "broken" family.

Moreover, his utter disapproval of all modern forms of consumption and culture, both popular and high, hippie and square, will not sit well with even the angriest critics of the American way of life; and the morally wholesome but materially austere community he advocates cannot attract the large majority of Americans who are still learning to enjoy the affluence they have so recently gained. They may be willing to give it up in future generations, when, like some of today's young radicals, they have reached the mountaintop of affluence, or they may *have* to give it up if the crisis of our society becomes so acute as to demand some sacrifice of consumption privileges in order to provide greater equality to an increasingly impatient underclass. But until then, they are unlikely to view Mumford's proposals sympathetically.

Yet whatever the shape of the future, the fundamental defect of Mumford's vision is its rejection of pluralism, for he believes deeply that there is really only one form of the good life, the good economy, and the good community. Although his critique of his old enemies, Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright, is as sound as ever, and he properly admonishes Jane Jacobs for transmuting her section of Greenwich Village into *the* ideal community, he fails to see that he too raises his preferences to the status of general truths.

Perhaps prophets and preachers must be single-minded; asking them to look tolerantly on what people do and want *now* would no doubt inhibit the impulse and perspective that produce new visions of the good life. Yet if Mumford's extensive contribution to American life and social thought is to remain relevant to our current problems and our future hopes, it is imperative that we recognize and examine his biases as well. Only thus can we arrive at some measured appreciation of the numerous proposals and insights—both practical and utopian—which he has urged upon us over the years.

A Commentary on the Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats

A. Norman Jeffares

An indispensable guide to Yeats's poetry, this work brings together from widely scattered sources information of all sorts bearing on the meaning of the poems and the circumstances in which they were written. The commentary is keyed to the standard edition of the *Collected Poems*. For each poem, the author gives the date and place of composition (if they are known) and the place of initial publication. Wherever possible he identifies people, places, and events referred to in the poems, elaborates literary allusions and parallels, and explains Yeats's often obscure use of mythology and symbolism. Where Yeats's prose throws light on the meaning of particular poems, as in his notes to early editions and in some passages from his critical and autobiographical works, it is quoted in the commentary on those poems. The author was given access to Yeats's library and manuscripts, and a great deal of unpublished material, mainly from Yeats's diaries and drafts of poems, appears in print here for the first time. $15.00

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Paideia

HUMANISTIC VALUES IN THE BIBLE. By Zvi Adar. Translated by Mrs. Victor Tcherikover. *Reconstructionist Press. 429 pp. $6.50.*

Reviewed by MARVIN FOX

MATTHEW ARNOLD, writing in *Culture and Anarchy* of the "ineffaceable difference" between Hebraism and Hellenism, concluded that "the face which human nature presents when it passes from the hands of one of them to those of the other, is no longer the same." This opposition has been recognized and accepted by Jews from Maccabean times to the present. In antiquity, those who wished to transform Judaism into a respectable version of Greek culture did not entertain the illusion that Jewish faith was compatible with the world of the Greeks. Similarly, a modern Hebrew poet like Saul Tchernichovsky, who, in a famous poem, stands in obeisance before the statue of Apollo and denounces Jewish history and tradition, would never for a moment suppose that Apollo and the God of Israel could be brought together in a single cultural framework. Yet precisely such a framework lies at the heart of *Humanistic Values in the Bible*; its author, a professor at the Hebrew University, proposes to use the Hebrew Bible as the main text in a humanistic education—an education whose net effect, it seems to me, would be the hellenization of Judaism.

It should be noted at the outset, however, that Professor Adar is not motivated by feelings of disloyalty to his people or to their traditions. On the contrary, his aim is to preserve and enhance Jewish life, and he sees much value for this purpose in the use of the Bible as the foundation of education. But, like many men of our generation, he is unable to resolve the dilemma of maintaining Jewishness while denying its religious beliefs. He wants to preserve the Hebrew Bible, to have it studied seriously, and to find in it the basic values for a rich and meaningful modern Jewish life. Yet being a modern man, he considers it necessary, as a matter of intellectual honesty, to reject all the religious foundations on which the Bible rests.

THE PROBLEMS which Adar faces unfold clearly as he tries to show how to use the Bible in teaching today's students. He is particularly concerned with education in Israel, where the Bible is universally regarded as the major national classic and is studied in all the schools, both religious and secular, as well as in regularly organized adult study groups. It is, indeed, precisely because of its unquestioned status as the prime classic of Hebrew literature that Adar undertakes to examine the Bible from the point of view of the Israeli educator. The question he asks is: How, as educators, are we to understand the Bible, and with what attitudes and purposes should it be taught?

For traditional believers, of course, Bible study poses no problems. They continue to view the Bible in the perspective of their ancient faith, seeing it as the word of God, and studying it in order to master the fundamental principles of Jewish belief and practice. To be sure, they also understand the Bible by way of rabbinic interpretations and traditional commentaries, but the scriptural text still provides them with all the essential foundations for their personal and communal lives.

Things are not so simple and straightforward for the large mass of unbelievers in Israel. Acknowledging that the Bible is a religious work, they nevertheless reject its claims about God while striving, at the same time, to retain the book not only as a treasured memorial of Jewish antiquity, but as perennially significant for their own lives. It is to the educational needs of these modern, non-religious Jews that Professor Adar's work is addressed. He is concerned to set forth a meaningful way of teaching the Bible in Jewish schools that are essentially secular, by teachers who do not believe in God, to pupils who share their unbelief.

In such a setting, according to Adar, the Bible obviously cannot be presented in the traditional religious way. Similarly, he finds neither the nationalistic nor the scientific-critical approach pedagogically satisfactory. Adar believes that the nationalistic conception of the Bible tends toward a chauvinistic exaltation of the nation, an attitude which is intrinsically bad. Moreover, it is a violation of the biblical spirit, which consistently attacks "overriding national pride." As for scientific-critical studies of the text, they are important for scholars and provide students with useful information. At best, however, they are a preparation for Bible study, not the kind of confrontation between student and book that Adar is seeking. He proposes instead his "humanistic" approach.

Three problems suggest themselves as we consider Adar's program. First, what becomes of the Bible when it is turned into a humanistic text, and what can one make of the Bible if one is unable to believe in the existence of God and His functioning in history? Second, even if one can make something of literary interest out of such a humanized Bible, is it a Jewish Bible, and can it serve as the main source for Jewish education? Third, in rejecting God as the source of values, what does Adar have to offer instead?

ADAR IS FULLY AWARE that he is seeking to understand the Bible without subscribing to its most fundamental religious claims. He acknowledges that throughout the Bible, in contrast to classical Greek literature, "God is the main hero of each tale, as well as its reason and significance." Adar sees that Abraham, like other biblical characters who are driven to contend with God, is moved by the knowledge that if the idea of God "is distorted, then there will be no sense in the very existence of man, and of the whole world." The prophets, in his reading, understand themselves as speaking God's message, and the prayers of the Psalmist are addressed to a God who both hears and cares. Adar treats the religious motifs in the

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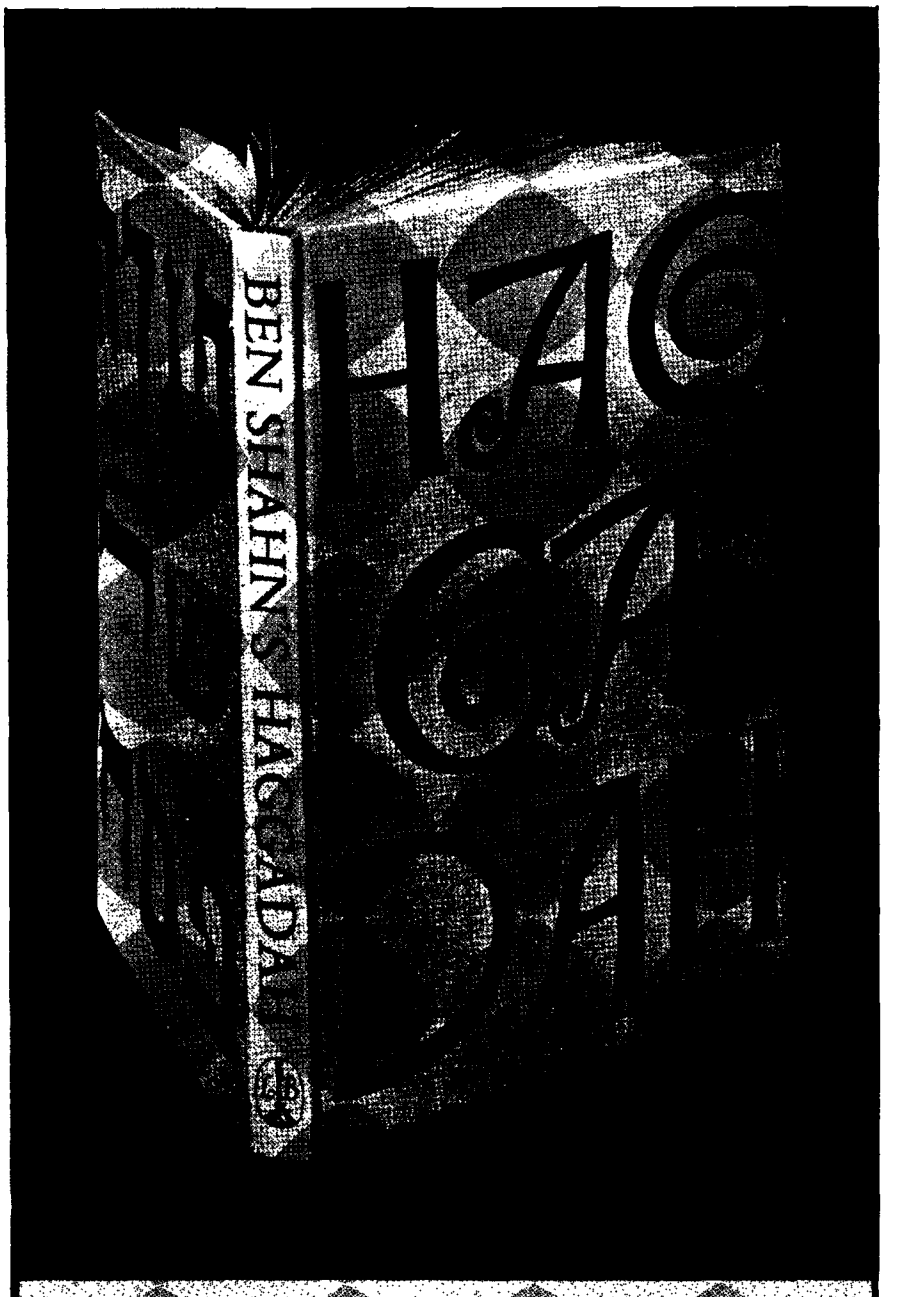
Bible with respect and interest, but he is consistently forced to explain that "modern men" cannot accept or even understand properly the faith which stands at the center of the entire biblical experience. This leads him to an occasional admission that his humanism puts severe limits on his capacity to come to terms with the Bible, and (one would suppose) to teach it to others. Indeed, he states explicitly that "we must recognize at once the boundaries of the humanistic viewpoint: it cannot grasp (and who can?) the way 'downwards,' the very essence of prophecy." This is no small matter, since prophecy constitutes, for Adar, a very large part of what is educationally important in the Bible.

His troubles are compounded when he comes to deal with biblical poetry—another major portion of his curriculum. While affirming that many biblical poems, particularly the prayers, "arise from a basic faith in God and an acceptance of Him in all ways of life," Professor Adar finds that "this faith and this acceptance are alien to our modern spirit." The barrier which divides contemporary man from the Bible is both emotional and intellectual. In spite of his questioning spirit, biblical man does not seek intellectually satisfying answers, but only the sense of God's nearness and His love. God does not justify Himself to Job, He only assures him of His presence. For Job this is enough. But Adar sees in this attitude of biblical man an orientation which only baffles our contemporaries. As he puts it: "To the modern world this spirit of 'neither do I exercise myself in things too great, or in things too wonderful for me' is surely alien. The modern man strives precisely for 'things too great,' in all the spheres of life. He has no intention whatsoever to enter into a mood of resignation, and the happiness of a man in God's bosom seems to him a strange fantasy."

Adar's Bible without God is, finally, unintelligible. If modern man must reject all the religious foundations of the Hebrew scriptures, if the God of Abraham does



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not exist for him, then he should be ready to admit that the Bible cannot speak to him and his condition. Adar admits, even affirms, that modern man (i.e., himself) cannot believe in God or in His presence in history, prophecy, or prayer. Yet, strangely enough, he thinks that after he has stripped away these religious essentials from the Bible, the book can become clearer and more authentically Jewish. One cannot help but feel that Adar is being tendentious, even disingenuous, when he views his reading of the Bible as superior to the religious way and defends "the humanistic approach, which regards the Bible as a perfect way to acquire the knowledge of God—that knowledge which is a necessary condition to the understanding of the Bible." In this reading, which is paradoxical to say the least, the best way to know God is by denying Him, so that we can then understand with special power the book at whose center He stands.

THE DEPTH OF THE internal contradiction under which Adar labors becomes more fully exposed when he turns to the problem of inculcating values, a purpose for which he considers the Bible especially suited. It is his contention that the values taught by the prophets "are the central factors without which human society would not be possible. It is the prophets who reveal the moral world which makes man truly human. . . ." He goes on, however, to show that "all the prophetic values derive directly from the absolute acceptance of the supreme existence of God, while for us such acceptance is no longer self-evident." How, then, can we aim at implanting prophetic values in our students, "while denouncing the source of those values"? The problem appears to be insoluble, especially since Adar never indicates the source of his own values. Early in his book he considers it wrong to claim any knowledge of moral certainties, and therefore argues against any fixed attitude toward the values of the Bible. He is especially concerned to protect pupils from a moral orthodoxy that will prevent the development of their own critical judgment. He says, with appropriate modesty, that "we have no right to regard ourselves as supreme arbiters of human values. Do we actually possess a system of absolute truths, so that we may judge every human deed, to condemn or acquit?" If we had such truths, his argument continues, we ought simply to hand them over to our students, as traditional believers are thought to do. Lacking such certainties, we can with propriety only work toward increasing sensitivity and independence of mind in our students.

Later on, however, Adar defends the Bible as having fundamental moral truth, even if its details are wrong. Though we cannot accept the code of biblical law, nevertheless, "We seek with the help of this code, *which is based upon true moral principles,* to bring to light the spirit of the laws and thus arrive at a conception of law which would befit our generation" (emphasis added). Thus we move from moral doubt to true moral principles by way of the Bible, whose essential religious foundations we reject.

ADAR'S HUMANISTIC reading of the Bible is an earnest but unsuccessful attempt to defend the worth, the centrality, even the sanctity of the Bible as an instrument for Jewish education. A Bible without God, prophecy robbed of its transcendent source, prayer addressed to no one, and morality which has neither religious nor secular ground—this is what Adar believes is demanded by a modern educated man. If this is what modern man demands, then it ought to be admitted that the Bible can no longer speak to him. He may, of course, read it out of curiosity or antiquarian interest; he may study it because it is an essential key to much of the art, music, and literature of Western civilization. Such a Bible may be adequate for *paideia*—a cultural notion much admired by Professor Adar, though one which remains, in the words of Werner Jaeger, "a Greek word for a Greek thing"—but it can never serve as Torah.

Movie Criticism

FILM *67/68*. Edited by RICHARD SCHICKEL and JOHN SIMON. *Simon & Schuster. 320 pp. $6.95.*

KISS KISS BANG BANG. By PAULINE KAEL. *Atlantic-Little, Brown. 370 pp. $7.95.*

Reviewed by WILLIAM S. PECHTER

FILM 67/68 is an anthology of reviews from the past year by the members of the National Society of Film Critics, an organization characterized on the dust jacket as consisting of "the nation's most perceptive movie reviewers." It is an appalling book, and, being so, an instructive one.

The National Society of Film Critics is composed of most of the people writing about films on a regular basis for the New York-based weekly, bi-weekly, and monthly magazines. Its members are Philip T. Hartung (*Commonweal*), Arthur Knight and Hollis Alpert (both of *Saturday Review*), Brad Darrach (*Time*), Joseph Morgenstern (*Newsweek*), Richard Schickel (*Life*), Brendan Gill (the *New Yorker*), Wilfrid Sheed (*Esquire*), John Simon (the *New Leader*), Stanley Kauffmann (the *New Republic*), Andrew Sarris (the *Village Voice*), and Pauline Kael (formerly of the *New Republic* and now with the *New Yorker*). Implicit in the founding of the society is the laudable goal of providing some alternative or corrective to the deficiencies of the New York (newspaper) film critics, and, acting as a body on majority vote, the society undoubtedly accomplishes that aim. Still, this does not make the selected reviews of Philip T. Hartung, Arthur Knight, Hollis Alpert, and others, even in a bound volume, any more interesting to read than those of Bosley Crowther; and (though here I speak from only the slightest familiarity) they are probably less interesting than those of Crowther's successor, Renata Adler. In fact, I do not see how, from any viewpoint, reading

WILLIAM S. PECHTER, *a new contributor, is currently Hodder Fellow in film criticism at Princeton, where he is completing a book on film.*

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the reviews of any of the first seven members of the society I have listed could be considered an edifying experience; even if they held interesting views as individuals, they would be defeated by their media, as, in the pages of *Time*, even James Agee was rendered faceless. Perhaps it can be argued that the "serious" critic working within the mass media is helping to elevate the public taste and not merely serving as a functionary of popcult aggrandizement (unless, like Pauline Kael, he remains intransigent and gets fired); yet, heartening as it may be to see Luis Bunuel praised in the pages of *Life* for being uncompromising, neither does the particular article itself tell us anything new about Bunuel ("I don't think, however, that sweeping interpretations of Bunuel's meanings are essential to your viewing pleasure"), nor has there been any evidence of mass conversions.

AMONG THE FIRST SEVEN CRITICS I have named, there are differences, but they are the differences less of men than of magazines. (From these remarks—as from those to follow—I'd like to except Wilfrid Sheed, with whose work, alone among the others, I was unfamiliar before reading *Film 67/68*, and who I suspect is somewhat unfairly represented by the editors largely as a *New Yorker*-ish wit, disdainfully ticking off the Hollywood product; even in these performances there are suggestions of an intellectual firmness and individuality behind the humor.) Thus, be it Knight or Alpert, the *Saturday Review* is avuncular and more than mildly sedative; the *New Yorker*, urbane and glibly knowing; *Newsweek*, concise; and *Time*, *Time*-styled. Connoisseurs of meaningless distinctions may wish to note that the *Saturday Review* takes honors for fatuity with its attempt to make, of some disagreement over a three-minute excision between the studio and the producer of *In Like Flint*, a classic confrontation between crass commercialism and creativity; or *Life* for the facile deployment of the greatest clichés of our time ("in our fragmented and alienation-prone times"; "modern man—fragmented, alienated, restive, and full of moral doubts," etc.), and their final reconciliation in sunny affirmation ("I do have, at bottom, a faith in the ability of this nation to grow and to change. I know that is not a very fashionable belief at the moment . . .").

As one turns to the remaining members of the society, individual features begin to assert themselves. John Simon is more clever by half than any of the first seven, and yet I must admit there is no one writing about films for whom I feel such extreme distaste. If there is *Time*-style, no less is there Simon-style. A fair example: "At a time when the whole English-language theater is in one of its periodic stages of infancy, and the nursery is full of goody-goody toddlers, bawling brats, and burbling tykes, Pinter is just plain precocious." Or: "There is so much straining for comedy and significance that one wonders how Lester and his scenarist . . . escaped without herniotomies." (Hernias for herniotomies wouldn't spoil the joke, but might seem too cheaply accessible.) Like Dwight Macdonald, Simon has cast himself in the role of defender of high culture against encroachments of the low; the scenario for this consists almost exclusively of the ritual flailing of the benighted, and no doubt there are some for whom the rewards provided by this spectacle will suffice. But, like Macdonald, Simon is betrayed in this charade finally by lack of taste: The critical faculty that permits his prose style, on the one hand, eventuates in his gush in behalf of *Closely Watched Trains*, on the other.

Even Simon's cleverness does not save him, however, in his attempt to cope with the questions which are posed to the book's contributors in a concluding symposium, from whose general foolishness only Andrew Sarris manages to escape by ironically deflecting the questions, and from which only Pauline Kael and the man from *Time* had the good sense to abstain. "Do you regard film as the most relevant art of our time . . .?" Simon asks himself, and answering, without even bothering to wonder *relevant to what*, immediately hits his stride. "Film is clearly the most

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relevant art of our time; only television may be more relevant, but it isn't an art. . . ."

STANLEY KAUFFMANN, appropriately the chairman of the NSFC, is the elder statesman or gray eminence among film critics, and in this, like the first seven, an apt reflection of the magazine from which he presides: liberal, reasonable, earnest, sober, dull. Witnessing his would-be lyrically soaring panegyric to *The Graduate* (omitted from this book) come thudding back to earth is to experience profoundly the true meaning of middle-age as a state of mind. Yet it must be said that occasionally Kauffmann can respond to a film maker, usually one for whom he has some high regard, to produce a piece that is worthwhile, as in the past he has written sympathetically on Antonioni. In *Film 67/68*, alone of those critics whom I approached with a previously developed aversion, he retained some capacity to surprise me, and I think his articles on *Bonnie and Clyde* and *How I Won the War* are among the best in the book; the latter, especially, presents an interesting case for seeing a film I had avoided. Yet I feel that on principle one must resist the temptation to be generous to Stanley Kauffmann. One reason for this is that Kauffmann is himself so little prone to generosity toward others, and, beyond this, as capable as Simon of writing in malice; his attacks, in the past, on the motives of the late Robert Warshow and on the limp-wristedness of the director of the New York Film Festival remain in mind as particularly vicious instances of *ad hominem* argument. But, more important, it is necessary to reject Kauffmann because of the extent of his influence; Simon is flagrantly self-convicting, but Kauffmann's patronizing curatorial tones all too often pass for the sound of authority both among those who know no better and are cowed by the simulated expertise of others, and those, as the praise by Eric Bentley on the dust jacket of Kauffmann's own book saddeningly attests, who could know better if they cared to but do not care.

Richard Schickel, in his introduction to *Film 67/68*, offers his pre-

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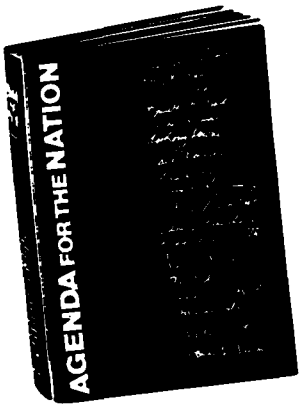

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scription for being a good film critic with a final warning that he who does not take it "will be such a poor one that he will have little influence." The members of the National Society of Film Critics may not, in most cases, be "the nation's most perceptive movie reviewers," but, in many cases, they are among the nation's most influential ones, and they are poor. Kauffmann, a stolid, moderately intelligent and immoderately pontifical critic whose collected work (apart from the anomaly of Antonioni) constitutes some sort of imposing record of insensitivity to anything of imaginative audacity and true originality in films, is probably the most intellectually influential of them all. My quarrel with Kauffmann is not primarily one of particular differences of opinion over individual films; though we have enough of these, they would require separate articles in themselves for me satisfactorily to argue my own opinions against his. But I don't, in any case, ask of a good critic that he invariably be right (whatever that might mean), only that his criticism provide a framework of ideas against which one can fruitfully argue and test one's own ideas and responses; that it should, in other words, be consistently stimulating to one's own critical faculties, whereas the effect of reading Kauffmann is benumbing.

The same, at least, could hardly be said of Andrew Sarris and Pauline Kael, the only contributors to *Film 67/68* who are always instantly identifiable by the distinctiveness of their individual voices, and whose writing I find almost always of interest. Andrew Sarris, especially in the context of this volume, offers clear demonstration of the virtues of a "movie man," one who has some solid idea of what is going on technically inside a film and of some historical tradition existing outside it. The "*auteur* theory" with which Sarris has been notoriously associated is not much more than a truistic insistence on a film's authorship allied to some highly questionable taste in individual preferences, yet it has probably had a salutary effect in noisily calling attention to the fact that some excellent film makers have long languished in intellectual disrepute.* This point having been made, Sarris's own writing seems lately to have undergone a relaxation of ideological rigidity and a catholicization of taste, to the degree that, given an alert sensitivity to the vestiges of party line, I would not hesitate to recommend his column in the *Village Voice* as one of the few intelligent guides to current moviegoing. He is finally too much given to mandarin assertions and a certain glibness of style to be, for me, a major critic, but he remains a film commentator of great value.

PAULINE KAEL virtually demands to be judged in her uniqueness, and, as it happens, most of her contributions to *Film 67/68* are contained also in her own recent collection, *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang*. Reading Pauline Kael is alternately to feel exhilaration and exasperation. The former feeling predominates, of course, as it must before the spectacle of so much impassioned intelligence, but, in part because her best is so good, one is rarely far from some sense of nagging frustration. Thus, it has become something of a fashion among certain critics of refined sensibility to speak deprecatingly of Pauline Kael as not-really-a-film-critic, as they ready their exegeses of *Blow-Up* for the quarterlies. She is instead, it is said, a sociologist. Yet it should be clear to anyone who has read all of her work and especially to those who have heard her engage in debate, that, if she is not the analytic critic that her detractors demand, it is not for lack of the intellectual equipment.

Kiss Kiss Bang Bang is, like Miss Kael's previous collection, *I Lost It at the Movies*, a non-book, whose parts retain their segregation from each other in the differences which occasioned them. The parts of *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang* conclude with a section entitled "Notes on 280 Movies," a selection from the many brief program notes Miss Kael has written to accompany various film showings, and, pleasurable as I found these in prospect, they soon began to pall in actuality. It is not that they are uninteresting; Miss Kael is virtually incapable of being this, and the "Notes" do provide a useful index to her opinions. But, read cumulatively, they give the impression of a breezy expertise which can attain such maddening proportions that, by the time one has reached *Oedipus Rex* ("Unwittingly, he has killed his father and married his mother"), one begins to wonder if there is not indeed a kind of madness in thus perpetuating this allotment of twenty-two lines to *Blood of a Poet*, seven to *The Gold Rush*, and sixteen to *A Man Escaped* ("It's a marvelous movie"). And by the time I reached *The Rules of the Game* (which gets two and a quarter pages though *The Loved One* breathes down its neck at just under two), I felt prepared to contend that *no one* could do justice to a work so complex on *any* two pages. And yet Renoir is probably the film maker Miss Kael admires most, although one would have to go through both of her books to put together a dozen disparate pages on him. This discrepancy isn't confined to the section of "Notes"; elsewhere in the book, though the piece on *Bonnie and Clyde* runs upward of sixteen pages, one on *Before the Revolution*, a film which I'm sure Miss Kael regards more highly, gets a scant page and a half. Of course, the latter appeared in *Life* where intelligent praise for so radical and obscure a work seemed positively breathtaking in its daring (Miss Kael and *Life* separated soon after; perhaps her editor got to see *Before the Revolution*); and, if it could not exceed the allotted space, perhaps, at least, it brought the film's existence to the attention of an audience which might never have heard of it.

FOR PAULINE KAEL is, in what I believe is a wholly serious and responsible way, intensely concerned with her audience, with the education of popular taste and with reaching the greatest numbers so as to direct them to worthwhile films and combat the rubbish

* For an entertaining account of film criticism's great *auteur* wars, see *"Auteur! Auteur!"* by Marion Magid, COMMENTARY, March 1964.

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which passes for film criticism in most of the magazines and newspapers. Miss Kael rarely discusses a film apart from its relationship with its audience, and the finely detailed delineation of the work in its context which her best writing achieves can yield remarkably revealing results; I had dismissed *Morgan!* for instance, simply as another modishly bad movie, but, in her treatment of it as a symptom of certain popular attitudes in which lack of artistic control is taken as the sign of some deeper honesty, it takes on an interest as the subject of criticism that it does not begin to possess inherently as a work of art. Less persuasive is her essay on *Blow-Up,* in which the style that served so brilliantly in the piece on *Morgan!* and most of the others in the book's first section on "Trends" breaks down; *Blow-Up* is less than my favorite Antonioni, but one would hardly be able to reconstruct a trace of the film itself from the ruins that are left once Miss Kael has done her demolition job on the excesses of audience response and critical opinion that it has inspired.

One would not need to defend *Blow-Up* to feel that this is the most drastically misconceived essay in the book; here as elsewhere, Miss Kael's preoccupation with the deficiencies of American films, with mass-produced commodities rather than with the creations of individuals, seems to blind her to the fact that not all artistic failure is shabby or disgraceful. (This preoccupation may also account for the rhapsodic vagueness into which she has often lapsed in discussing the films she likes best, as if in admission that her finely developed attitudes for dealing with the inconsistencies of the American film were inadequate for coping critically with an integral artistic conception, whether by Renoir or by Antonioni, as she has been equally weak, it seems to me, on what makes a great film great as on how some serious films fail.) But to dwell on this piece would be unfair to the great majority in which the ephemera of mass entertainment provide occasions for a running commentary on the fate of art in the market place that is full of insights, sharply reasoned argument, and earned anger.

Good as these pieces are, however, they are overshadowed by the accomplishment of Miss Kael's long article on the making of *The Group* that was commissioned and then rejected by *Life.* Along with her piece on "Movies on Television," this is one of the handful of truly indispensable things written about films. Patiently, with a scrupulously nuanced attention both to her own role as a participant-observer and to the characters of the main protagonists, Miss Kael gives us a picture of the complex human situation out of which films are actually made, and from which her argument about the transformation of movies by television is allowed to emerge without the slightest imposition.

AT HER BEST, as in work like this, Pauline Kael is good enough both as a writer and as a critic to raise the question of what a consistently first-rate film criticism ought to be. The special problem of the film critic is that he is expected to range freely in his perceptions from *Weekend* to *Funny Girl*; it is as though a literary critic were asked jointly to discuss Kafka's letters and an issue of *Look.* And yet, given the historical development of the American film in which some extraordinarily talented people have been enmeshed and forced to function in a mass industrial situation, the expectation can be justified (and, as it happens, even *Funny Girl* involves a director much admired by the important French theoretician, André Bazin). The film critic who aspires to any general competence must therefore be able to develop a context capable of encompassing both *L'Avventura* and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* because, whatever the imperfections of the latter, John Ford is no less an artist than Antonioni, however different in character and circumstances; and, beyond that, a context large enough to manage that vast area extending from *The Sound of Music* to *Bonnie and Clyde* in which films, however skillfully they are made, are better seen as cultural symptoms than as individual creations. Of critics

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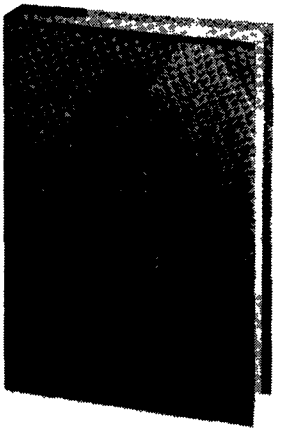

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writing in America, only Robert Warshow seems to me to have achieved a criticism supple enough to respond imaginatively to works at both extremes as well as all those falling somewhere in between, yet, if there is a principle to be extracted from Warshow's example, I cannot claim to know it. It is not that one need have a method, or proceed from some theory of film, although Warshow's work is surely unified by certain organizing ideas. Nor would I wish to require expertise; though the tourism of the English professors has resulted in some of the greatest nonsense ever written about films, the occasional film criticism of non-specialists has also produced such fine things as Eric Bentley's pieces on Chaplin and John Peale Bishop's essay on *Blood of a Poet.*

IF THERE IS, indeed, any prescription to be drawn from such first-rate film criticism as exists, perhaps it is what one would ask of a good critic in any of the arts: intelligence and openness, of which only the latter can be acquired. Among film critics, Pauline Kael has never suffered from any noticeable lack of the former, and lately, in her pieces in the *New Yorker* (where, by sheer force of personality, she has managed to shatter that magazine's conventions in film criticism), her writing seems to have taken on a new balance and flexibility; I think especially of her recent writing on Godard in which, unlike the easy pamphleteering—pro and con—one is usually given on the subject, her criticism has the strength of insights hard won from some basic temperamental resistance. When I say, then, that Pauline Kael's most recent work offers us the hope that she may at last become that consistently first-rate critic of film she is by her intelligence eminently endowed to be, I mean the comment to be taken not in depreciation but rather in admiration for what she has already accomplished. What is in any case clear is that, among those now writing regularly on films in this country, of Pauline Kael alone could one seriously entertain such a hope.

Social Benefits

CHILDREN, POVERTY, AND FAMILY ALLOWANCES. By JAMES C. VADAKIN. *Basic Books. 224 pp. $6.95.*

Reviewed by ROBERT LEKACHMAN

PROFESSOR VADAKIN'S temperate and well-documented case for cash allowances to children as an anti-poverty measure appears just at the outset of four, eight, or more years of stagnation (at best) or retrogression (at worst) in national economic and social policy. President Nixon's previous career, congressional voting record, and recent campaign, have left no doubt that in his administration poverty will be combatted, cities helped, and black communities improved, if at all, only in ways which will require the very minimum of federal expenditure, preferably in the shape of tax benefits for large corporations. Given this prospect, about the best the anti-Nixonites can do is collect their wits and engage in some hard thinking about the objectives and measures which they will pursue when the political weather clears.

Children, Poverty, and Family Allowances is accordingly a convenient occasion for considering some of the issues involved in one important agenda item, income maintenance. In 1968 no fewer than 62 nations, including all 27 Western European countries, Canada, Russia, North Vietnam, Israel, and Iran, paid children's allowances. Conditions of eligibility and benefit levels naturally differ very widely from country to country, but some features recur frequently. Payments are made to parents (sometimes to the mother exclusively) on behalf of their children. The Canadian program, among others, makes it a condition of payment that children of school age be attending classes. Almost all programs make payments to rich families as well as poor, but many countries tie benefits to steady employment of the parents. Financing practices also vary, although there is a tendency in Western Europe to rely upon payroll taxes as a major revenue source. Characteristically, payroll taxes levied for welfare purposes redistribute the income of moderately paid and low-income families. They do little or nothing to shift income from the really well-to-do toward the less well-to-do.

WHAT, THEN, in American circumstances, are the merits of family or children's allowances (the terms are practically interchangeable)? To begin with, a large percentage of our poor are children. Aid to dependent children, the largest of our present efforts to relieve the poverty of the young, misses most poor children. Thus, even if the aid program were desirable on other grounds, it fails in its stated objective. A serious program of children's allowances, on the other hand, although it would do nothing for childless couples, elderly men and women living on inadequate social security, and the middle-aged, would be capable of diminishing one important component of poverty, and surely something is better than nothing.

As Daniel P. Moynihan's introduction to this volume emphasizes, children's allowances also possess another major virtue. By making grants to all children, the proposal would diminish the antagonisms between the poor and the just-barely-not poor which Great Society programs have apparently accentuated. The blue-collar vote for Wallace, for instance, seems to have been cast partly out of resentment at the attention and "funds" lavished on the poor and the corresponding neglect of the respectable working class. It is fair to say that children's allowances are the least controversial and the most conservative of proposals to redistribute income, for the sound reasons that so little redistribution is actually involved and so little change is required in present habits of thought. Rich as well as poor will benefit, in the spirit of Anatole France's license to rich and poor alike to obey the laws and not to sleep under bridges.

Professor Vadakin proposes to fi-

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nance children's allowances out of income taxes, although it should be noted that the program could just as easily be administered within the Social Security System, which would lead to a reliance on payroll taxes instead. But even if payments were made out of general revenue, our tax system in practice is not nearly progressive enough to promise much shifting of funds from the affluent to the penniless. *A fortiori*, a system tied to social security simply will shuffle about the incomes of the poor and the moderately well-off. Since Americans love children, at least children still too young to demonstrate; since a system of children's allowances would not affect existing inequities of income and wealth; and since, finally, the initial benefit levels are likely to be quite low, I should guess that this proposal would be the least unlikely to win conservative support.

All this, of course, brings us to the question of whether such a program should be supported, and here an old division of opinion between liberals and moderate radicals is bound to obtrude. The liberal, pragmatic camp might well conclude that if children's allowances are really the very best measure that can conceivably be salvaged during the next few years, then the thing to do is gulp, regroup, and push as hard and as single-mindedly as possible for what is feasible. For my part, I like the opposing view better. The unhappy moral of Lyndon Johnson's consensual strategy for social change is this: When objectives are blurred, divisions of interest disguised, and programs softened in focus, such reforms as do in fact result are likely to be half-hearted, poorly understood even by those who are imagined to be their beneficiaries, and consequently readily susceptible to sabotage and even reversal at the first intimation that matters are going badly. The propagandistic rise and the sudden collapse of the War on Poverty amount to a prime exhibit of this process and its attendant dangers.

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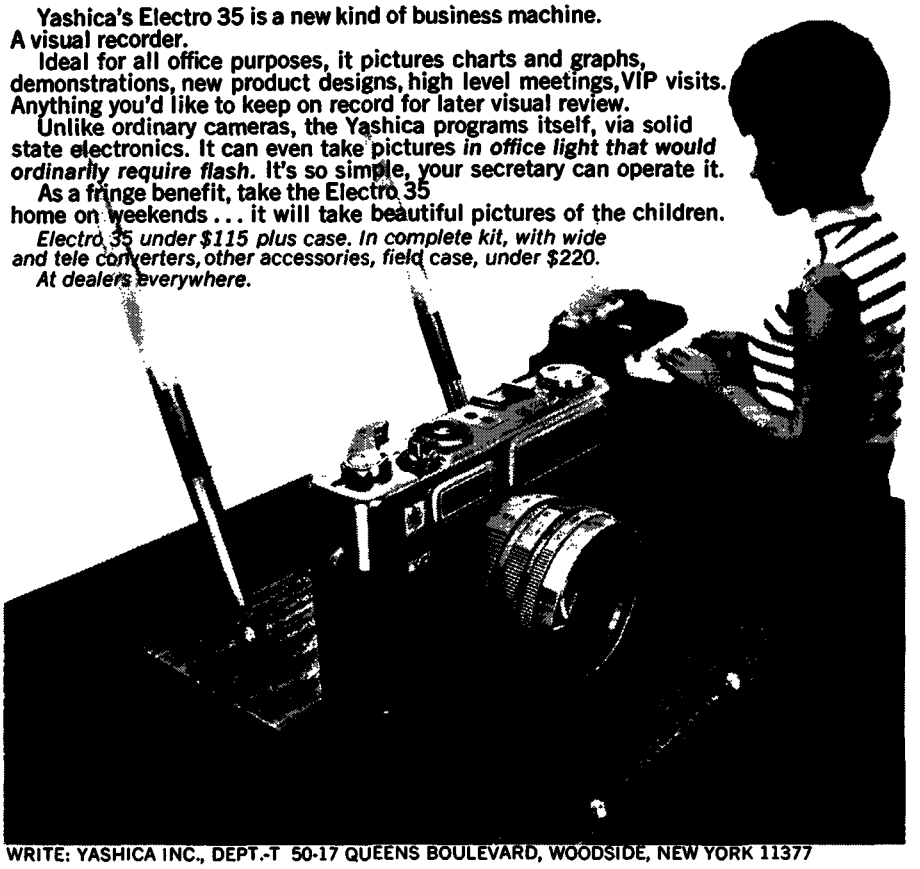

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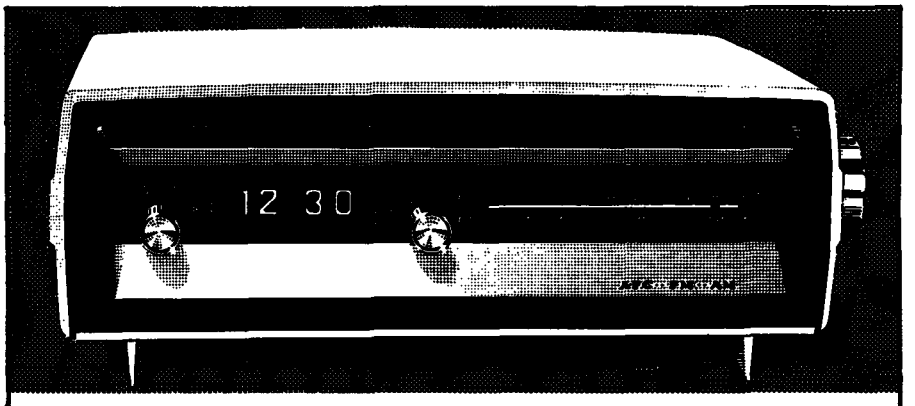

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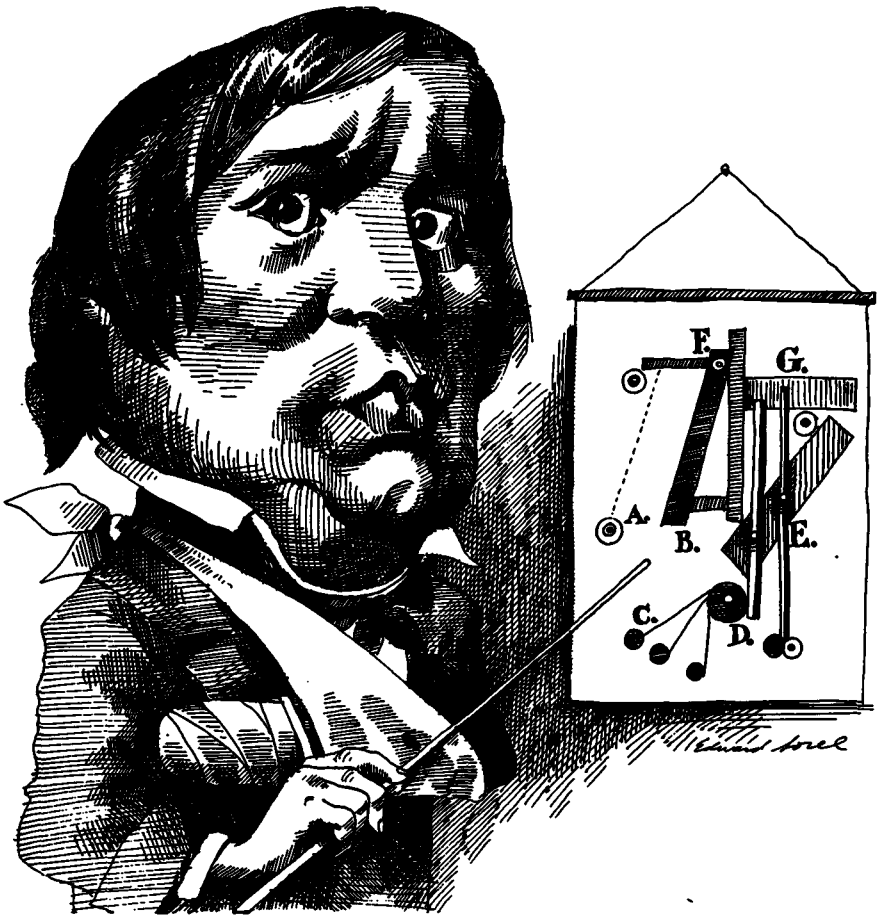
income and wealth in the United States in the direction of diminished inequality. Of such measures family allowances are just about the least likely to accomplish that aim. A properly designed negative income tax, on the other hand, could indeed serve as an instrument of redistribution. The words "properly designed" of course exclude the conception of conservatives like Milton Friedman who have in mind quite different objectives. Dr. Friedman, in an effort to minimize costs and preserve work incentives, has proposed cutting off benefits once an income is attained which is *half* that of the poverty level. Moreover, a negative income tax on his model would replace *all* welfare benefits.

There is no particular mystery about the workings of a radical, negative income tax. One version of such a tax, worked out by Professor James Tobin of Yale, would confer either cash grants or tax benefits upon all families of five whose incomes fall below $8,000. This figure is high enough so that a great many working-class families would receive some benefit (although less than that paid to the really poor). Hence the proposal would have some of the unifying effects imputed to children's allowances. In effect, the scheme shifts income from that portion of the population which can already pay additional taxes to those who are in the bottom half of income distribution. Tobin's sketch is one of many possible plans. But the mechanics of all of them are simple. It takes little more than basic arithmetic to design a system which greatly benefits any given segment of the population and finances the improvement by removing funds from the relatively affluent.

There is a last word to be said. I do not anticipate that any scheme as direct in its objectives and as contrary to the temper of the times as a redistributive negative income tax has any immediate hope of success. It is, however, a program for the sort of social-science research into whose design enter radical possibilities, and hence an investment in the kind of social action one may hope to see in the future.



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